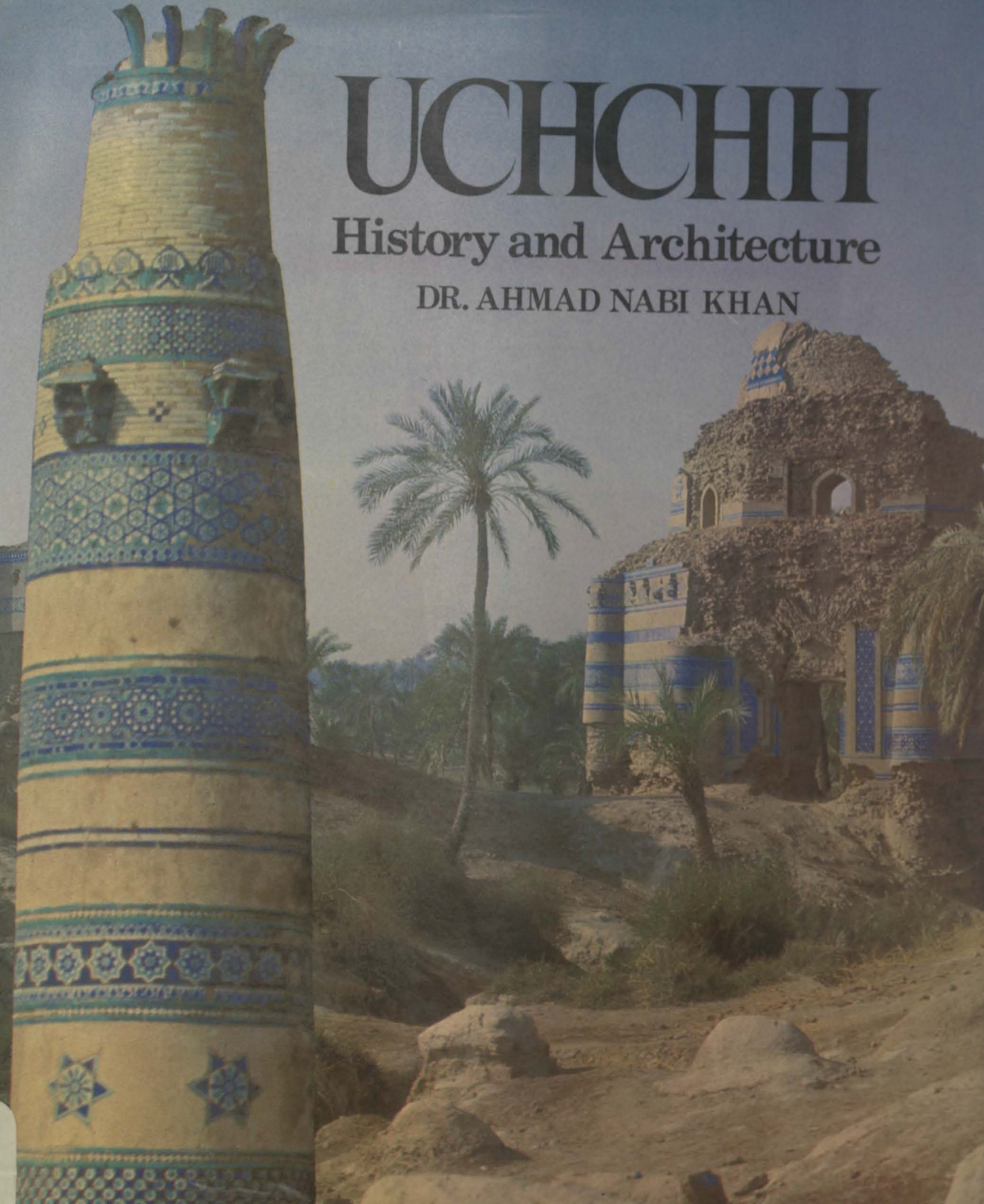
UCHCHH

History and Architecture

DR. AHMAD NABI KHAN



NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF HISTORY AND CULTURE, PAKISTAN ISLAMABAD

UCHCHH

HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE

لِتَعَارَفُوا

ADVENT OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY HIJRA

National Institute of
Historical and Cultural Research
(A Constituent Institute of Quaid-i-Azam University)

PRESENTATION NOTE

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The Institute's programme has been planned to bring out publications in the two main areas of Islamic *History* and *Culture*. Under the latter, the following five monographs are proposed to be issued :

★ Islamic Architecture of Pakistan, Islamic Period : An Introduction.

★ Islamic Architecture of Pakistan, Islamic Period : Monuments of Lahore.

★ Islamic Architecture of Pakistan, Islamic Period : Monuments of Multan.

★ Islamic Architecture of Pakistan, Islamic Period : Monuments of Uchch.

★ Islamic Architecture of Pakistan, Islamic Period : Monuments of Thatta.

Architecture of Pakistan of the Islamic period has received little attention so far in the works dealing either with Islamic architecture in general or with Indo-Muslim architecture in particular.

The above series of monographs may present a preliminary study of the subject and yet open up a fresh chapter on the study of Islamic architecture in South Asia.

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N. A. Baloch
Director
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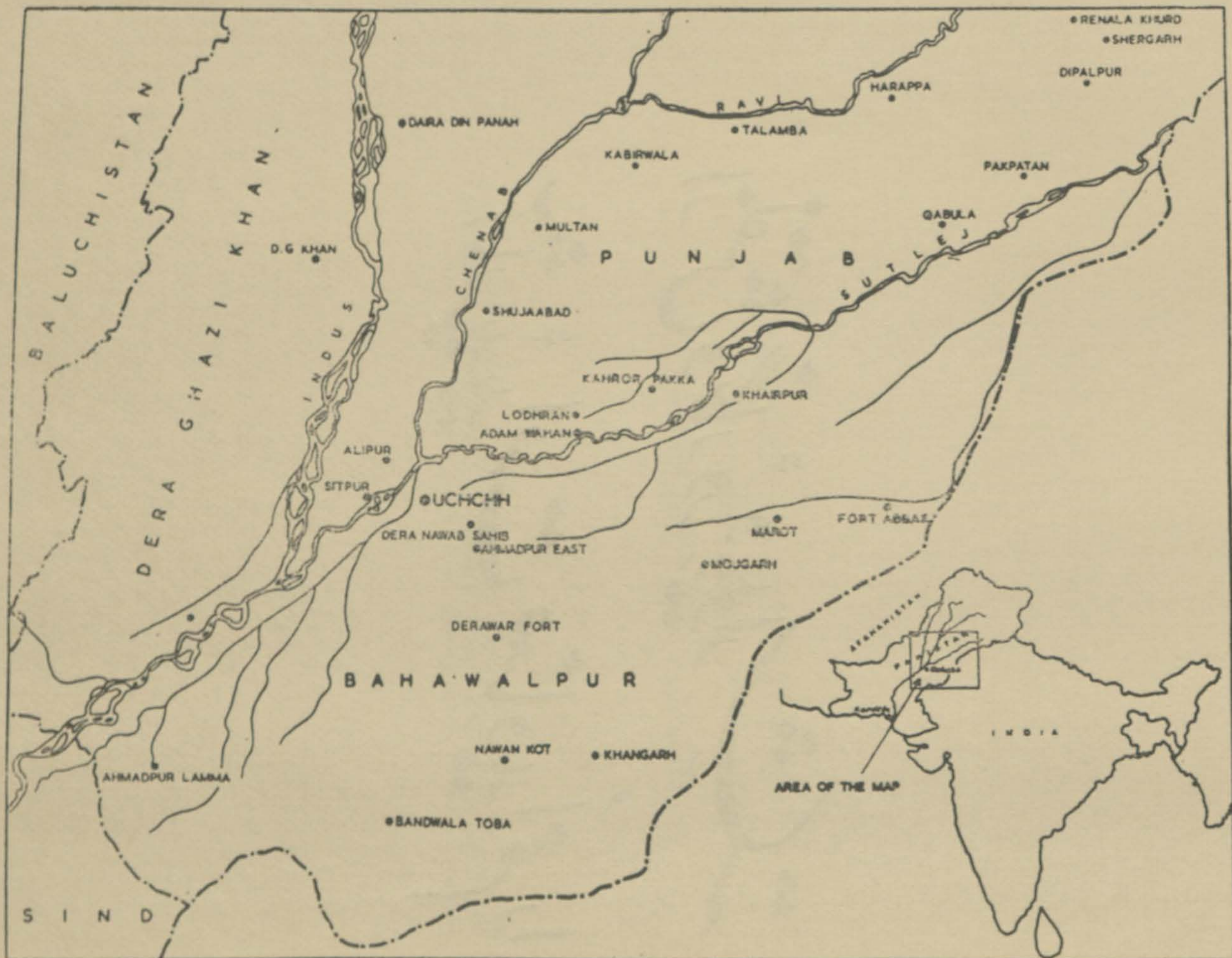
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UCHCHH AND SURROUNDING TERRITORIES.

Fig. 1

UCHCHH
HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE

by

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CONTENTS

Foreword, by Professor Dr. A.H. Dānī .. xiii
Preface .. xv
Introduction .. xvii

Chapter One
The Early History .. 1

Chapter Two
Advent of the Muslim Rule .. 14

Chapter Three
Uchchh under the Dehli Sultanate .. 20

Chapter Four
The Langāh Suzerainty .. 31

Chapter Five
The Abbāsī and the Makhdūm Rulers .. 40

Chapter Six
The Architecture .. 53

Chapter Seven
Epilogue .. 74

Bibliography .. 80
Index .. 93

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

I. COLOUR PLATES

Plate I. (*a*) Tomb of Bībī Jīwindī—General view.

(*b*) Tomb of Bībī Jīwindī—Interior view.

Plate II. (*a*) Tomb of Abū Ḥanīfā—General view.

(*b*) Tomb of Bībī Jīwindī—Faience mosaic revetment.

Plate III. (*a*) Tomb of Jalāl Surkh Bukhārī—Wooden ceiling painted in lacquer.

(*b*) Tomb of Jalāl Surkh Bukhārī—Detail of lacquer work.

Plate IV. (*a*) Tomb of Bahā' al-Ḥalīm—General view.

(*b*) Tomb of Bahā' al-Ḥalīm—Faience mosaic revetment.

II. MONOCHROME PLATES

Plate V. (*a*) Tomb of Bahā' al-Ḥalīm—Interior view.

(*b*) Tomb of Rājan Qattāl—Faience mosaic revetment.

Plate VI. (*a*) Tomb of Rājan Qattāl—The entrance.

(*b*) Tomb of Jahāniyān Jahāngasht—Faience inscription.

Plate VII. (*a*) Tomb of Abū Ḥanīfa—View from south showing the main entrance.

(*b*) Tomb of Abū Ḥanīfa—A wooden bracket.

Plate VIII. (*a*) Mosque of Jalāl al-Dīn Surkhposh—The Persian inscription.

(*b*) Mosque of Jalāl al-Dīn Surkhposh—The Persian inscription.

Plate IX. (*a*) Mosque of Jahāniyān Jahāngas͟ht—The prayer chamber.
(*b*) Mosque of Jhāniyān Jaahāngas͟ht—The Mehrāb.
(*c*) Tomb of Jahāniyān Jahāngas͟ht—The carved piller.

Plate X. (*a*) Mosque of Jahāniyān Jahāngas͟ht—Wood screen.
(*b*) Mosque of Jahāniyān Jahāngas͟ht—Wood screen.
(*c*) Mosque of Jahāniyān Jahāngas͟ht—Wood screen.
(*d*) Mosque of Jahāniyān Jahāngas͟ht—Wood screen.

Plate XI. (*a*) Tomb of Mūsa Pāk S͟hahīd—General view.
(*b*) Tomb of Mūsa Pāk S͟hahīd—The inscription.

Plate XII. A page from the Qur'ān in Khaṭṭ-i-Bahār.

III. FIGURES

1. Location map of Uchchh.
2. Tomb of Abū Ḥanīfa—Ground floor plan.
3. Tomb of Bahā' al-Ḥalīm—Ground floor plan.
4. Tomb of Bahā' al-Ḥalīm—First floor plan.
5. Tomb of Bibi Jiwindī—Ground floor plan.
6. Tomb of Bibī Jiwindī—Cross section.
7. Tomb of Bibī Jiwindi—First floor plan.
8. Tomb of Rājan Qattāl—Wood carving.
9. Tomb of Rājan Qattāl—Wood carving.
10. Tomb of Jahāniyān Jahāngas͟ht—Medallion on a wooden piller.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AO	Ars Orientalis
BAIPAA	Bulletin of American Institute of Persian Art and Archaeology
BM	British Museum
C.E.	Christian Era
CHI	Cambridge History of India
HS	Hijri Shamsi
IA	Indian Antiquary
IC	Islamic Culture
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
IOL	India Office Library
IQ	Indian Quarterly
JASB	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal
JPHS	Journal of Punjab Historical Society
JRAS	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
JRIBA	Journal of Royal Institute of British Architects
JRSP	Journal of Research Society of Pakistan
MASI	Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India
MS	Manuscript
NS	New Series
Pak. Arch.	Pakistan Archaeology
Pak. Q.	Pakistan Quarterly
PIHC	Proceedings of Indian Historical Commission
PPL	Punjab Public Library
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects
TN	Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī

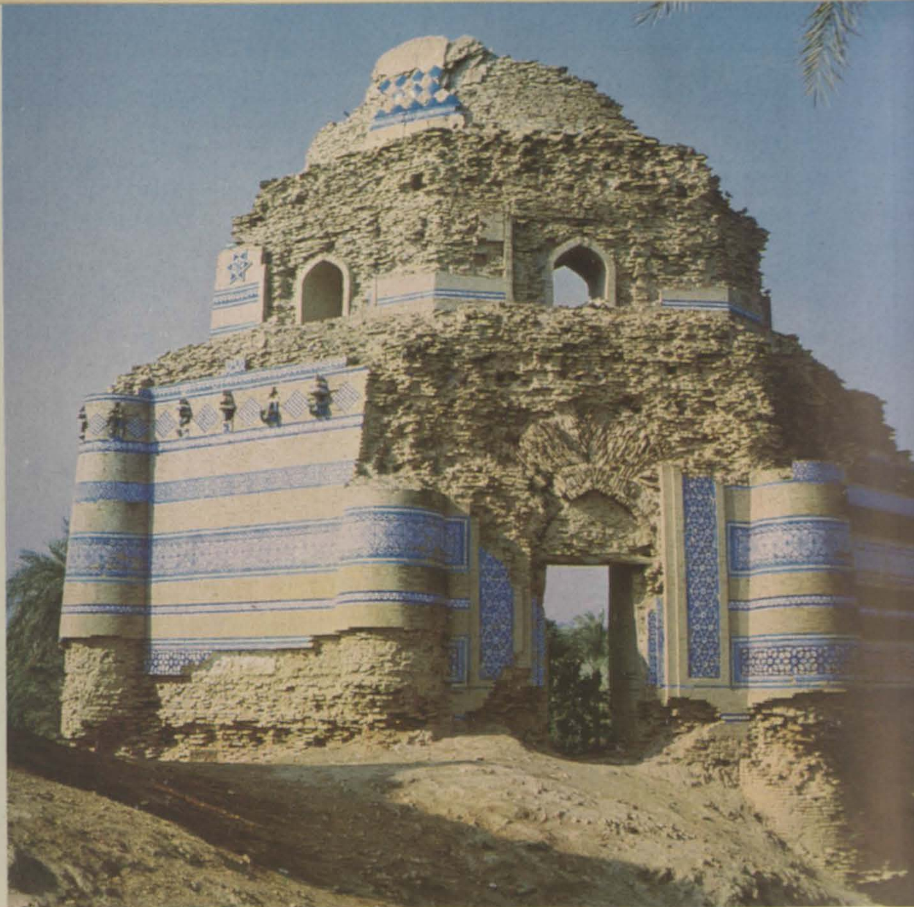


a) Tomb of Bibi Jawindi—General view.

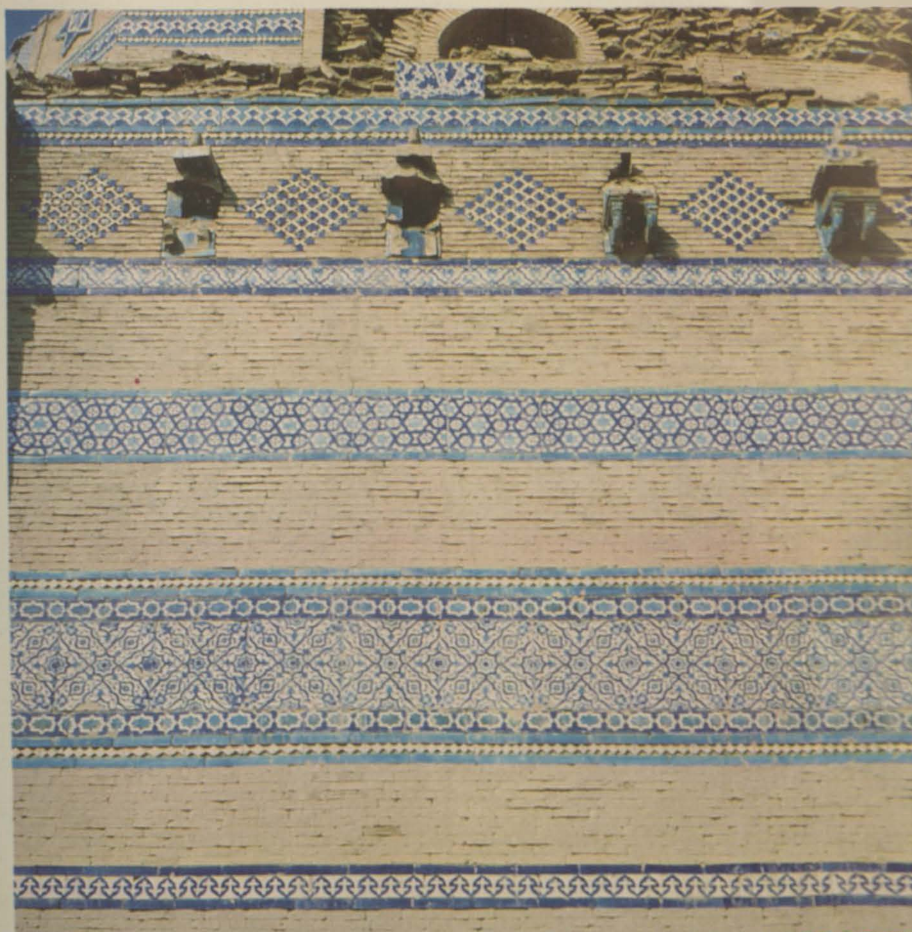
b) Tomb of Bibi Jawindi—Interior view.



PLATE II



a) Tomb of Baha'al-Halim: General view



b) Tomb of Baha'al-Halim—Faience mosaic revetment.



a) Tomb of Ustad—General view.

b) Tomb of Bibi Jiwindi—detail





a) Tomb of Jalal Surkh Bukhari—
Wooden roof painted in lacquer.



b) Tomb of Jalal Surkh Bukhari—
detail of lacquer work.

FOREWORD

It is usual to read the history of kings and their empires. More often we also learn about their capital cities. But very little attention is paid to those urban centres that have exerted important influence on the cultural development of a region. If such a centre is to be selected for focusing the role of Islam in its socio-cultural aspect, Uchchh has a unique place in the mid-Indus region. Lying on the edge of the desert, the city carries with it the hoary traditions of the past and challenges us to fathom its historical character during the Bronze and Early historic periods. That story remains to be told in future.

In the meanwhile, Dr. Aḥmad Nabī Khān has endeavoured to bring at one place all the known historical facts that could be gleaned from the available literature and weave them in a story round Uchchh. Although the city still defies its ancient identity, yet the history of the region is a part and parcel of its fate. In these pages, Dr. Khān not only speaks of the 'royalty' but also has a wider vision of the saints and their disciples. It is the latter that has given to it a permanent place in the history of the area. And it is in the saints that we can really understand how much and how deep has been the influence of Islam on the people at large. Here the chronological account of the saints in relation to the administrative heads and political personalities does provide a scale to measure the currents of history. Without the saints the history of Uchchh will be a poor narration. For, it was only once in history at the time of

Nāṣir al-Dīn Qubācha that the city enjoyed a privileged capital position. But all along in history it has remained the rendezvous of pious darveshes who chose to settle down at the lower west course of the Sutlej river and open up their kind influences towards the settled as well as nomadic tribes of the eastern desert.

It is no wonder that the last dwelling places of the saints and the associated houses of prayer today occupy a prominent place among the surviving buildings. Dr. Khān has devoted a great part of the book to the elaboration of the architectural style of these buildings and the place they occupy in the general pattern of the monumental developments of the area. The architecture, which is a part of the so-called 'Multān school' is refreshing and attractive. It speaks of the influences received from Central Asia. More particularly, the study brings into focus a local style that could be created out of mud and wood available in the region. The brick style is the hall mark of this architecture and the wooden framework its back bone, but it is the glittering glazed tiles that have a far-reaching attraction for the devoted as well as the forsaken people around. As long as that glamour attaches to these buildings, the people will gather around them and seek solace from the saints for their eternal life, Uchchh will go down in history as an embodiment of this eternal message of Islam, and Dr. Aḥmad Nabī Khān's well-planned and well-written monograph will serve as the chief source of information on its history and architecture.

Islamābād, AḤMAD ḤASAN DĀNĪ
14 January 1979.

PREFACE

The present work deals with the socio-political history of the ancient city of Uchchh in some details and describes the architectural monuments with which it abounds. The subject has been studied for the first time in order to place it in its proper perspective. The author visited the ancient city about two decades ago, in 1958, for the first time in connection with his archaeological reconnaissance in the Punjāb and was immediately impressed by its serene atmosphere circumstanced by the teachings of the great sufis who are now lying buried there in monumental tombs and mausolea. Subsequent visits were utilized to study its history and architecture in greater details; field notes, photographs and drawings were prepared. The efforts are presented here in the shape of this monograph.

A number of friends and colleagues assisted me while I was working on the monograph. I am grateful to them as without their help the work could not have been produced in the present form. Above all, I am thankful to my friend, Dr. Muḥammad Rafiq Mug͟hal whose 'persuasive threats' have been responsible for the completion of the work. Among the elders whose keen interest in my studies has always been a source of inspiration I am greatly indebted to Professor Dr. Muḥammad Bāqir, Professor Dr. Muḥammad 'Azīz Aḥmad, Pir Sayyid Ḥusām al-Dīn Rās͟hidī Ṣāḥib, Professor Vazier al-Ḥasan 'Ābidī, and Mr. Muḥammad Walī Ullah K͟hān. I am particularly grateful to Prof. Dr. A. H. Dānī for his kindness in going through the

manuscript and writing a foreword to it.

The debt of gratitude to my wife, Saeeda Aḥmad, cannot be paid adequately. Herself a keen and erudite student of histoy and art, she has been a ruthless but constructive critic of all my works. Her ungrudging assistance has as usual been available at the cost of her own convenience and leisure. Indeed, without her unfailing help and appreciation the work would not have seen the light of day. Similarly, my two sons, Saeed and Naved, and Nadiem helped me in preparing the Index of the book. I record appreciation for the hard work they did for me.

Lastly, it is my proud privilege to thank most sincerely Prof. Dr. N. A. Baloch, the learned Chairman of the Pākistān National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, whose keen and abiding interest in the studies of the cultural heritage of Pākistān encouraged and inspired me to undertake the task of writing this monograph. He very kindly agreed to include the monograph in the Institute's special programme of publications arranged by him in connection with the celebrations of the Fifteenth Century of Islamic Era. Dr. A. D. Muẓṭar and Mr. Shafqat, the officers of the Institute also helped me in various ways. I express thanks to both of them.

My sincere thanks are also due to Mr. A. Ra'ūf, Director of the Ripon Printing Press, Lāhore, for his technical assistance in the process of the printing of the book.

Lāhore,
October 1978.

AḤMAD NABĪ KHĀN

INTRODUCTION

Pākistān, the land of one of the great civilizations of the 'Most Ancient East', possesses several cities and towns which have played significant role in the making of our history. While Harappa and Moenjodaro are treated as the twin capitals of the world known Indus Civilization, Uchchh, Multān, Dipālpur, Pākpatan, Lāhore, Peshāwar and others have been the centres of culture and religion since almost the dawn of history in the sub-continent.

Though now a small town situated in 29° 14′ N. and 71° 4′ E., on the south bank of the Sutlej opposite its confluence with the Chenāb, 38 miles south-east of the city of Bahāwalpur, Uchchh has been regarded as an important metropolis of religio-political activities since its inception. At one time, it served as the capital of the sovereign state of Nāṣir al-Dīn Qubācha when it turned into a cosmopolitan centre to which flocked religious luminaries, 'ulamā', litterateurs, artists, engineers etc. While Qubācha's court was a favourite rendezvous of all those who migrated from the distant lands of Central Asia to seek refuge or favour, his grand vazier 'Ain al-Mulk was also a patron of art and learning. Eminent personages like Muḥammad 'Aufī, Minhāj al-Dīn Sirāj Jūzjānī, Ziyā' al-Dīn Sijzī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kātib al-Balkhī etc., were attached to his court. Nāṣir al-Dīn Qubācha is credited to have established khānqāhs, serāis, colleges etc. throughout his kingdom. Among these, the Madrasa-e-Fīrūẓiya was the grandest whose principal was the

renowned historian, Minhāj-i-Sirāj.[1] It was under his patronage that the earliest known history of Sind, the *Chach Nāma*[2], and the earliest biographical anthology of Persian poets, the *Lubāb al-Albāb*[3] were written.

With the downfall of Nāṣir al-Dīn Qubācha, however, Uchchh's material glory diminished. But, its spiritual splendour remained dominating and dazzling as ever. Great sufis and saintly personages came here to live and preach Islam and the sufi way of life. Indeed, it was through the ceaseless efforts of these personages that Islam gained a foothold and prospered on the soil of the sub-continent.[4]

Much has been said about the etymology of Uchchh. It has been suggested that it is a derivation or, at best, a corruption of Ushas as named by the Aryans after one of their favourite deities, Ushas, the goddess of dawn.[5] The city might have been founded by these invaders sometimes in the second millennium B. C. However, it appears that the city lost its vigour through the passage of time. In the 4th century B. C., we are informed by Greek chroniclers that Alexander founded a new city there and named it Alexandria after his own name.[6] It is significant that some of these writers also call it Ussa-Alexandria, obviously a combinition of the old and new names.[7] Alexander Cunningham also infers that the name might be identified with Ucha (*sic.* in fact Ūnchā) meaning 'high or lofty' and cites in analogy of the names of some other cities in the sub-continent like Buland Shaher, etc.[8] However, the assertion does not seem very plausible

1. Jūzjānī, i, 420.
2. Dā'ūdpota in Kūfī, *Chach nāma* (Introduction).
3. However, it might be pointed out that still earlier an anthology was completed by Abū Ṭāhir Khātūnī (d. 500/1107). It is now extinct.
4. *Cf.* I. H. Qureshī, *Muslim Communities in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent*; *Idem*, *'Ulamā' in Politics*'.
5. *Cf.* Shahāb, Ūch etc. (Urdu) 42 ff.
6. Alexander Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, 279.
7. *Ibid*, 279.
8. *Ibid.*

as Uchchh can hardly be taken as a derivation of Ūnchā. Besides several places in the sub-continent and beyond have been named as Uchchh specially in Iran and the Central Asia.[9] At least one ancient city in the sub-continent had a suffix of Uch.[10]

Uchchh has also been called by serveral different names in different times. It was, as said earlier, Alexandria-Ussa of the Greek writers, Basmad or Sāwandi of the Arab chroniclers,[11] Chachpur or Askalanda of Kūfi,[12] Uchchh of Ma'ṣūm[13] and Bhātiya of the Ghaznavide historians.[14] However, it was only the present form of Uchchh that has survived to this day.[15] During its heyday the ancient city was divided into several quarters where the followers of various saints lived.[16] Among these, Uchchh Gīlānī was populated with the families, relations, makhdūms and followers of Bandagi Muḥammad Ghaus, commonly known as Gīlānī-i-Sānī. Uchchh Bukhāri was a much larger town serving as the residence of the Bukhāri makhdūms and their followers. While Uchchh Mughla was the headquarter of the provincial administration of the Dehli Sultanate where the elite of the city and the Mongol immigrants lived.[16] The three localities had regular fortifications strengthened with bastions and gateways. A distance of about 300 yards separated Uchchh Bukhārī from Uchchh Gīlānī, while Uchchh Mughla was located at quite a distance.

To-day, no such distinct division of the 'towns' exists although their characteristics are still discernible from their

9. One of these was Uch (Uch Turfān) in Kāshghar. *Cf.* Mirza Haider Daughlāt, *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, (Eng. tran.) 393.

10. *E.g.* Uchchakalpa or Uch-hara in Nagod State, Western Baghelkhand. *vide* K. Y. Jayaswal, *History of India*, 58.

11. *E.g.* Ibn Khurdādbeh, *al-Masālik wa'l Mamālik*, 57.

12. Kūfi, 15; Dā'ūdpota, *ibid*, 257.

13. Ma'ṣūm, 32, 33 etc.

14. Muhammad Nāzīm, *Life and Times of Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, 154.

15. For further discussion on the etymology and identification, see Elliot and Dowson, i, 365 ff., Raverty, 'Mehran etc.' 244 ff. f.n. 192; Haige, *The Indus Delta country*, etc.

16. Muḥammad Dīn, *Bahawalpur State Gazetteer*, 381.

structural and semi-spiritual environments. The Uchchh Gīlānī and Uchchh Bukhāri still flourish as an integral part of the city while Uchchh Mughla has been reduced to a mere village in the outskirt of the main habitation. There are innumerable ruined edifices and cultural mounds scattered throughout the area reminding its past glory.

The mosques, the khānqāhs and the eternal abodes of the religious personages were places of devotion and reverence to which the devotees flocked. During their days of opulence, they must have been most glamorous adorning the various parts of the city. The local master-mason designed and executed them with such proficiency that with them an altogether new style of architecture was born, distinct from the art of building practised elsewhere in the neighbouring territories. While the flat-roofed edifices were indeed a well marked development of local architecture, the domed-mausolea and mosques had an affinity and derivation from the more famous and refined Multān Style of architecture. It must, however, be conceded that the personality of Uchchh architecture is evident, both in structure as well as structural ornamentation.

CHAPTER ONE

The Early History

The archaeological evidence in the shape of low and high mounds scattered throughout the ancient city of Uchchh Sharīf shows that the saga of human toil and labour in these areas must have started very early, perhaps sometimes during the pre- or proto-historic times when the region possessed flourishing centres of the famous Indus Valley civilization.[1] These centres existed for a considerably long time when natural calamities as well as human vandalism gave a death blow to them and eventually turned them into dust-laden mounds.

It is now difficult to ascertain the extent of the ancient city of Uchchh and the way of life its people led. However, it is certain that the areas now covered by the city were occupied by the pre-historic man some 4,500 years ago. Etymological inferences indicate that the city was re-occupied by the Aryans who arrived in the sub-continent sometimes in the middle of the second millennium B.C. During the early days of their settlement, they founded several cities and towns throughout the northern parts of the sub-continent including that at Uchchh

1. According to the archaeological explorations of more recent date, modern district of Bahāwalpur possessed numerous ancient cities and towns. *Cf.* Mortimer Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, 2; B. & A. Allchin, *The Birth of Indian Civilization*; M. R. Mughal, *Present State of Research on the Indus Valley Civilization*.

which they called Ussa after the name of their goddess of Dawn.[2] However, these inferences and surmises do not provide details of historical events. Indeed, the history of the early period of the city is shrouded in mystery. According to some of the early literary sources, there existed in the sub-continent as many as sixteen political units (states) whose rule has been estimated sometimes in the six century B.C. Among these, the Gandhara and Kamboja were the two states whose jurisdictions extended to almost the whole area of the present-day Pākistān. The state of Kamboja was located in the north-western parts of the sub-continent with its capital at Dararka identifiable with Rājpura, a place which lay to the south-east of the present-day Punjāb.[3] It may be assumed that the ancient Uchchh or the Ussa of the Aryans might have been included in the dominions of Kambojas until the time it was annexed by the Achaemenian empire.

During the reign of the third Achaemenian sovereign, Dārayavoush or Darius (522-486 B.C.), we are informed by the epigraphical documents and the writings of Herodotus that the areas situated in the Indus Valley formed the 'twentieth province' or the Indian satrapy of the vast Achaemenian Empire. This 'twentieth province' was considered the wealthiest and the most populous satrapy of the empire, paying the enormous tribute of three hundred and sixty Euboic talents of gold dust. The immense money was equivalent to over a million pound sterling, and formed about one third of the total amount received as a tribute from the Asiatic provinces.[4] Although the exact limits of the twentieth satrapy cannot be determined precisely, it must have included the course of the Indus from Kālābāgh to the sea, including a considerable portion of the Punjāb east of the

2. *Cf.* E. R. Price, *Ancient India*, 2-4; Z. A. Ragozen, *Vedic India*, 123; A.; Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, 233; R. C. Majumdar, (ed.) *The Vedic Age*, 368 ff.
3. H. Raychaudhury, *Political History of Ancient India*, 77 *sqq*.
4. Rapson, *CHI*, i, 335.

Indus and the whole of Sind.[5] It is evident that within the boundaries of this 'richest satrapy' was also located the city of Uchchh which must have then turned into a rather unimportant settlement.

Alexander's Invasion

The Achaemenian domination continued for about two centuries or until 326 B.C. when the Greek troops under Alexander the Great overran these areas. During this period, the regions of Gandhara and the Indus were parcelled out into several independent states. It may be presumed that the ancient Uchchh was then included in one of the states situated in the lower Punjāb. The Greek conqueror visited the territory during the course of his campaign towards Sind, and founded a new city called Alexandria after his name at the confluence of the five rivers.[6] Some historians have tried to identify this place with the city of Uchchh. It has been recorded that the people of Alexandria (Uchchh?) sent to the Greek conqueror one hundred bravest and noblest men as hostages besides 500 war chariots with their drivers and horses fully caparisoned. Alexander was gratified by the show of respect and returned the hostages, keeping only the chariots with their horses and drivers.[7] According to the identification of Cunningham[8] and McCrindle,[9] it was the same place called previously Ussa or Uchchh. The territory was placed under the control of the newly appointed satrap, Philippos.[10] Arrian records: "Alexander ordered a city to be built at the confluence of the two rivers, imagining that by the advantage of such a situation, it would become rich and prosperous."[11]

5. V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India*, 40.
6. McCrindle, *Alexander's Invasion of India*. 293.
7. *Ibid*, 154.
8. Alexander Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, 279.
9. McCrindle, 156.
10. V. A. Smith, 102.
11. Cunningham, 279.

Alexander wandered in these areas for nearly nineteen months. His army played havoc to the life, honour and property of the local people. However, the turmoil proved short-lived and as soon as he left the sub-continent, his own mercenary troops revolted against his governor and killed him. The Mecedonian conqueror then appointed Eudemos, commandant of a Thracian garrison, to assume administrative control of the areas until the appointment of a new satrap. However, no new appointment could be made as the conqueror himself died in June 323 B.C. The Greek commandant too could not hold the area for long as he had no adequate army to enforce his authority, and ultimately returned to his homeland in 317 B.C.[12]

Thus within a decade or so the remnants of the Greek hold over these areas diminished to the extent that the local chieftains started re-occupying the tracts. A casual reference of Rashīd al-Dīn records that Askaland-Usha[13] was, during that confusion, taken over by Ayand, son of Kafand. From the details provided by this historian it appears that the place served as the capital of one of the four provinces of Sind which was brought under the control of this new local ruler. No further details of this ruler's genealogy are available now.

However, this was also the time when northern India was being consolidated under the fast growing power of Chandra Gupta Maurya who, after gaining victory over Seleucos in 405 B.C., had gradually occupied the vast prosperous satrapies of the Paropanisadae (Kābul), Aria (Herāt), Arachosia (Qandhār) and at least the eastern portion of Gedrosia (Baluchistān).[14] During

Diodorus, xix, 14, quoted by Smith, 121 fn. 1.

13. Cunningham calls it an easy corruption of *Alexandera Uchchh*, or Ussa, but it is in fact a logical and natural combination of the old and new names of the place. As stated above, the earliest and original name of the place was Ussa.

14. *Cf.* Justin (Watson Ed.) 142, who provides further details of the enterprise. See also V. A. Smith, 114 *sqq.*; Raychaudhury, 141 *sqq.*; Rapson, *CHI*, i , 467 *sqq.*

the days of his grandson and successor, Asoka, we hear the name of the ruling clan of Kambojas[15] once again and its chief city Alasanda, the same Alexandria which was founded by the Mecedonian emperor. It seems certain that the ancient city was included in his enormous kingdom which comprised Afghānistān, Gandhara, south of Hindūkush, Baluchistān, Sind, the valley of Kashmīr, Nepāl, the lower Himālayas and the whole of the Central India.

The Bactrian Greeks and the Kushanas

Sometimes at the close of the third century B.C., the Mauryan Empire disintegrated and was replaced with another ruling power known to history as the Sunga dynasty. The north had, however, to face again foreign onslaughts and eventual occupation by the Bactrian Greeks. Among these, Menander, a scion of the family of Eukratides, stands out prominently who held sway over the whole of the northern sub-continent including the ancient Uchchh. He ruled the vast country with his capital at Sagāla.[16] The Greek ruler is the hero of the celebrated dialogue entitled 'Milindapanha' (The Questions of Milinda), one of the most notable treatises of Buddhist literature.[17] According to this treatise, Menander had embraced Buddhism.[18]

After the death of Menander,[19] his Queen Agathocleia,

15. According to a Rock-edict, the Kambojas were the 'border people' whom the Emperor regarded as coming within his sphere of influence. *Cf. CHI.* i, 514.

16. For discussion on the identification of the place, *see* W. W. Tarn, *Greeks in India and Bactria.* 170 ff.

17. Rhys Davids in *Sacred Books of the East*, vols. xxxv-xxvi (1890-1894).

18. V. A. Smith, 239. However, Tarn does not support the views, (268-69) See also George Woodcock (114) who after discussing all the views, quotes Heinrick Zimmer's moderate view: "If the Greek King was not himself actually a member of the Buddhist Order. he was at least so great a benefactor that the Buddhist community looked upon him as one of their own."

19. The date of his death is uncertain. Tarn has analysed available data and concluded that the event might have occured between 150-145 B.C. (226 *sqq*). George Woodcock, however, (114) assigns 130 B. C.

her son Strato I, and Strato II Philopator, the grandson of the later, ruled the territories successively. During the time of Strato II, the royal house witnessed decline. The next years witnessed the internecine struggle between the successors of Menander which created confusion and weakness to the extent that the Saka hordes drove them out of the plains of the Punjāb. The Sakas entered the sub-continent through the Bolān Pass and occupied some of the areas in the Punjāb and the Gandhara. The successors of the Bactrian Greeks have been called in history the Indo-Scythians and the Indo-Parthians who ruled the northern parts of the sub-continent until the arrival of the Kushānas on the political scene sometimes in the beginning of the first century C.E.

The most celebrated king of the Kushānas was Kanishka during whose reign the Punjāb and Sind were annexed to the Kushāna empire. The people then professed Buddhism as manifested by the ruins of a monastery and a tower erected at Sui Vihara. The tower once possessed a copper plate, 30 inches square, imbedded in the centre of the floor and inscribed in the so called Arian-Pali characters recording the construction of a Buddhist complex in the reign of Kanishka by two lady-donors, Bulānandi and her mother Balajaya.[20] It is evident that the areas were included in the vast kingdom of Kanishka. B. N. Puri, however, avers that these were subjugated during the second phase of the emperor's conquests.[21]

After reigning about forty-five years, Kanishka died in about 160 C.E.[22] Among the more important of his successors

20. This important inscription was removed from the site by the Rev. G. Yeates in February 1869 and was immediately reported in the *JRAS.* vol. iv (N. S.) 1870, and then in the *JASB.* vol. xxxix, 1870. The reading was later on improved and perfected by Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle in *IA.* x. 1881. (324 *sqq.*). The copper plate is now preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

21. B. N. Puri, *India Under the Kushanas*, 37.

22. The problem of the date of Kanishka's accession has baffled solution so far. For a summary of the attempts made so far, see *ibid.* 38 *sqq.*

who ruled the areas for a considerably long time, were Huvis͟hka and Vāsudeva. It, however, appears that the last named Kus͟hāna king did not hold sway over the areas of the Punjāb; his rule was confined only to the enviorns of Mathura.

The Rā'i Dynasty

The history of the ancient Uchchh remains shrouded in mystery until the close of the fifth century C.E. when a new ruling power called the Rā'i dynasty is established in Sind. In about 485 C. E., Rāja Diwā'ij founded this new ruling dynasty with its capital at Alor. The origin and antecedents of this ruling family are not known to history, but it is certain that soon the founder extended his realm on the east to Kas͟hmīr, on the west to Makrān, on the south to the famous port of Debul, and on the north to the mountains of Kurdān and Qīqanān.[23] The central part of the kingdom was ruled by the king himself with his capital at Alor, while the rest was divided into four provinces with their head-quarters at Bahmanābād, Sīwistān, Askalanda and Multān. Each province was ruled by a governor. Askalanda was then an important fortified metropolis. History reveals that five rulers of the Rā'i dynasty reigned this vast territory. They were: Rā'i Diwā'ij, Rā'i Sahīras I, Rā'i Sāhsī I, Rāi Sahīras II and Rā'i Sāhsī II, each being the son of his predecessor. It is said that Rā'i Sahiras I was killed in an encounter with the Persian governor of Nimrūz and succeeded by his son, Rā'i Sāhsī I. After his death his son Rā'i Sahīras II and Rā'i Sāhsi II ruled the territory successively. During the period of the later, a Brahman named Chach, son of Silā'ij was employed by the king's Chamberlain who soon rose to power and high office. Kūfi gives a detailed account of his entry to the King's service and the events which followed: "King Sāhsī had a Brahman vazier named Rām. One day, he was sitting in his office when a Brahman came to see

23. There are some minor variations of the boundaries recorded by Ma'ṣūm, Kūfi and Qāne'.

him and when admitted began to praise the vazier in an impressive language. The vazier enquired about his antecedent on which the visitor replied: "My name is Chach and I am the son of Selā'ij. My brother Chandar and my father live in a temple of Alor, and pray for Rā'i Sāhasi and the vazier. I wished to serve you and that was why I came to you"· The vazier was very much impressed with the eloquence and ettiquate of the Brahman and offered him his assistantship. Chach accepted the offer and busied himself with his duties. In a short time, he became prominent in the royal correspondence department.

"One day, Rā'i Sāhasi came to the public audience hall, and called the vazier who was not available. Chach then offered his services to transact the immediate task, Rā'i Sāhasi called him and gave certain letters for disposal. Chach read out the letters and explained their purport with full details. He then wrote a reply in a befitting style and in a beautiful hand, and submitted the same to the king for perusal. The king had great liking for excellent penmanship. He went over the letter and was much pleased with the style. He invested him with a robe of honour. On the death of Rām, his post was entrusted to Chach.

"One day, King Sāhasi was sitting in a private apartment of his palace with his queen Suhandi. The queen exercised great influence over the king and had lived happily with him. Chach came to the door of the palace and sent in a message to Rā'i Sāhasi of his arrival on an important business. The king asked his queen to go behind the curtain as a stranger was coming. The queen Suhandi then observed: "So many inferior people and menials come in, what inclination am I likely to have towards him and why should I feel shy and conceal myself from him. May a thousand lives of mine be sacrificed to the dust of Sāhasi's feet!" On this, the king called Chach, who explained the State business that had brought him in, and expressed himself on the subject very well.

"The Brahman Chach was a young men with a beautiful face and fair complexion. He was tall in stature and well proportioned. When the Queen looked at this handsome man, she immediately fell in love with him and later in the day sent a message to him through a clever go-between woman for his company. But, Chach expressed his abhorrence and rejected the proposal. The message dismayed the Queen. She wept bitterly and again requested the indifferent lover to 'show me your face every day, in season and out of season, so that the thought of your beauty may remain fresh in my mind and I may console myself by cherishing hopes of your union with me'.

"When the eye began to play its part in the affair, and the heart was seized with (desire for) union of the beloved, a sympathy ultimately sprang up between them, which reached its consummation in morning meetings; and their love and intimacy increased beyond measure, and was confirmed by a solemn compact of permanent union. The king had no knowledge of their relations. There was indeed a party of their opponents who entertained evil suspicions regarding them from the glances of the two, but as no one had observed any thing more suspicious their secret was maintained. Some of the enemies, however, informed the king of their relations but he refused to accept their word. Thus, in the course of time the entire kingdom came under the sway of Chach. Whatever he did was to the liking of the king, and king Sāhasi did not dispose of any important business without consulting him.

"At length, the king fell dangerously ill and died after a short while. Anxious Queen concealed the king's death and called Chach to inform him of the situation proposing him to ascend the throne by setting aside the near relations and other contenders. With cautious hesitation Chach accepted the proposal. The Queen then invited one night all the near relations of the dead king and other possible contenders to the throne. According to the plan they were chained

and put to the sword. Thus in one night the Queen and her lover got rid of all the opponents. No competitor remained in the kingdom to claim the inheritance. The friendly followers and dependents were called in. Queen Suhandi came behind a curtain and sent the following message to them through vazier Budhiman: "Speak to the peers and nobles of the State and convey to them the wishes of their sovereign. Tell them that, though His Majesty is much better and his illness is fast disappearing, still owing to the shock caused by the illness, he is unable to come to the public audience hall. He is therefore pleased to appoint Chach, in his lifetime, as his vicegerent to carry on the administration in his name. Chach then ascended the throne and was accepted as king by all present there. Queen Suhandi Devi presented costly dresses of honour to a thousand of her faithful dependents and friends and placed the crown on the head of Chach. After six months, the deceased Sāhsi's brother Maharat, king of Chitor, appeared before the gates of Alor to contest the throne. Chach came out with a large army and in an encounter that ensued, king Maharat was killed and his army took to flight. Chach returned to the fort of Alor with joy and victory. He then married Suhandi."[24]

The provincial governors, however, refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of the new king whom they considered a usurper. The province of Askalanda then possessed fortified towns like Bābiya,[25] Swarah,[26] Jajher[27] and Dhanod.[28] Bābiya was

24. Kūfī, 17, ff.
25. The name of this stronghold has been written variously by the Arab and local historians. Al-Berūnī places it midway between Aror and Multān, while Kūfī asserts that it was situated on the southern bank of the river Biās, which then flowed as a separate river to the south and east of Multān. Cunningham identified it with Bhātiya while Raverty argues that Bhātiya was the city of the Bhatti tribe and may be identified with Babeya-Paberwāla, a town once situated about 39 miles to the east of Uchchh.
26. Also a fortified town identifiable with Seorai, now a village named Sirwahi, about 96 miles below Uchchh and 85 miles above Alor. [Cunningham, 292].
27. Unidentifiable.
28. Unidentifiable.

the first stronghold of the province which was conquered by Chach. Thereafter, he proceeded to the city of Askalanda, the chief city of the province. He appointed a new governor to carry on the administration.[29]

Chach died at Alor after a reign of forty years and was succeeded by his brother Chandra whose reign lasted for seven years. After the death of the later, Chach's sons, Dāhir and Daharsiya divided the vast kingdom among themselves with Alor and Brahmanabād as their respective capitals. The kingdom was again united in 670 C.E. when Daharsiya died and Dāhir became the ruler of the whole kingdom.

The Arab invasion

It was during the later part of Dāhir's rule, sometimes in 91/709, that an event of far-reaching effect occurred on the sea-coast near Debul which resulted in the conquest of Sind and parts of the Punjāb by the Arabs and the establishment of Islamic rule in these areas. Almost every Arab as well as local chronicler dealing with the history of this period has narrated the event. According to these narrations, some Arab merchants who had settled in Ceylon died in an epidemic. The king of Ceylon decided to send their destitute families back to Damascus or Kūfa, and boarded them in a ship with precious presents for Ḥajjāj and the reigning Caliph. However, the ship while sailing through the coasts of Debul, was intercepted and looted by pirates. On hearing this incident, Ḥajjāj despatched an embassy to demand compensation of the loss and repatriation of the women. Dāhir expressed his inability to accede to the demand. Ḥajjāj then decided to take punitive action against him and sent two expeditions one after another which were routed by Dāhir. The Arab generals who led the expeditions were killed and the armies routed.

These two set-backs compelled Ḥajjāj to take the expedition

29. Kūfī, 35.

of Sind seriously. He obtained the caliph's permission for a full fledged encounter and made elaborate arrangement for it. He appointed his nephew and son-in-law, Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Saqafī, then a youth of seventeen lunar years, to head the expedition. A strong army of 6,000 horsemen, a camel corps of equal number besides a large number of coats of mail and artillery was provided for the operation. Included in the elaborate military equipment was a huge ballista called *al-'Arūs* (the bride) which was to be operated by 500 men. To ensure the success of the operation, Ḥajjāj prepared all the plans himself and instructed the young commander to obtain prior approval for important actions.[30]

Equipped with these forces, the young commander marched towards Sind in the autumn of 93/711 through Makrān where he was joined by its governor, Muḥammad b. Hārūn. A few months latter, the Arab forces appeared before the fort of Debul[31] where they also received the flotilla of warfare sent by Ḥajjāj through the sea. The fort was besieged and captured after a fierce battle.[32] After the conquest of Debul, all important cities of ancient Sind like Nerūn, Sīwistān, Al-Ror, Brahmanabād,[33] etc. fell one after the other. The cousin of Dāhir and son of Chach, Kaksas, fled to Askalanda and took refuge in the fort. At this time, Askalanda was in possession of Rāja Singh Rā'i who, on the arrival of Arab army, shut himself in the fort which was besieged by the enemy. The siege lasted for seven days

30. Kūfī, 77; *cf.* Elliot, vol. i, 434 etc.

31. For the identification of Debul, *see* M. A. Ghafūr, 'Fourteen Kufic Inscriptions of Banbhore, the site of Daybul' in *Pak Arch.* 3 (1966) 66 *sqq.*

32. Kūfī gives detailed account of this and subsequent encounters. He also mentions (77) a great Buddhist temple of the high dome (?) on which was hoisted a flag. The fort was taken after the flag was destroyed by the Arabs. However, archaeological evidence at Banbhore indicates that it was a Siva temple and not a Buddhist *vihara*. *Cf.* F. A. Khān, *Banbhore*, 13.

33. For the identification of these places, *see* Maqbūl Aḥmad, *India and the Neighbouring Territories* etc., 155 *sqq.*

when in the darkness of night the Rāja fled to Multān. The fort was thus occupied by the Arabs without much resistance. Muḥammad b. Qāsim appointed Kaksas his minister and entrusted to him the administration of some of these conquered territories.

While Muḥammad b. Qāsim was busy consolidating the Arab rule in Sind and the Punjāb, changes of far-reaching consequence were taking place at the capital. Ḥajjāj, the governor of Kūfa, died in Ramazān 95 June 714 and after about a year, Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik also breathed his last on 23 February 715, to be succeeded by his brother Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik. Muḥammad b. Qāsim watched these developments with concern as relations between Sulaimān and Ḥajjāj were not very cordial as Ḥajjāj had once upheld Walīd's proposal to nominate his son for succession in place of Sulaimān. The governor of Kūfa had not only supported the caliph but had work for it. Soon after his accession, therefore, Sulaimān decided to take revenge from the family of Ḥajjāj. It was in these circumstances that the new caliph ordered for the dismissal and arrest of Ḥajjāj's son-in-law. Accordingly, Muḥammad b. Qāsim was arrested and sent to the capital. The caliph handed him over to an officer who put him in a prison of Irāq where he died after some time.[34]

Thus ended the brilliant career of one of the ablest generals of Islam responsible for the expansion of the caliphate. The unfortunate general lamented at the time of his death:[35]

اضاعونی و ای فتی اضا عوا   لیوم کریہة و سداد ثغر

34. *Cf.* Kūfī, 244. The story of the arrest and execution as related by him and repeated by Ma'ṣūm (27-28) and Qāne' (iii, 22-23) and then related in *CHI* (iii, 7) is baseless. None of the Arab historians both contemporary and near-contemporary, make any reference to it.

35. Balāzuri, 440.

CHAPTER TWO

Advent of the Muslim Rule

After the exit of Muḥammad b. Qāsim, the newly conquered territories of Sind and Multān turned into a hot-bed of revolts and dissensions. The local chieftains and rulers who had been ousted and defeated by the Arab general started taking advantage of the situation. The new governor, Yazīd b. Abī Kabsha Sakasī, appointed by the caliph Sulaimān to succeed Muḥammad b. Qāsim, was unable to control the situation. In fact, he died just after eighteen days of his arrival in Sind. The caliph then appointed Ḥabīb b. Muhallab to succeed Yazīd.[1] During his days, Dāhir's son, Jaisimha, revolted against the Umayyad authority and occupied Brahmanabād. Others followed suit and one after the other most of the conquered areas reverted to their former rulers. The situation seems to have deteriorated to the extent that the next caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz exhorted the Hindu rulers of Sind to embrace Islam and continue occupying their territories. Jaisimha is said to have responded to the call and embraced Islam. But, that was a temporary phase; after a short period he recanted and rebelled against the Arab authority.

The next caliph, Hishām, sent Junaid b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān to deal with the rebel ruler. He not only defeated Jaisimha but also conquered the neighbouring territories and sent military

1. Balāzurī, 442.

expeditions as far as Ujjain and Mālwa. He was, however, replaced with Tamīm b. Zaid 'Utbī and, after sometimes, with Ḥakam. Ḥakam was a competent and resourceful governor. The first problem which he had to face on his arrival in Sind was the consolidation of Umayyad power as most of the Arab possessions had reverted to local chieftains. The small Arab army which was assigned the task of safeguarding the caliphate's interests, was scattered and in a pitiable condition. The new governor therefore erected a stronghold near Brhmanābad and named it Maḥfūza. He replenished the Arab troops. His efforts were successful to a great extent in restoring the Arab authority in Sind. Later on, his general 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Q̱āsim founded another fortified town called Manṣūra which was destined to become the Arab capital in Sind.

The success of Ḥakam was, however, short-lived as the movement to over-throw the Umayyad caliphate had by then gained momentum at the centre and the reigning caliphs were too busy at home to pay attention to their holdings in the sub-continent.

Maḥmūd G͟haznīn in Uchchh

Throughout this period and indeed until the days of the invasions of Maḥmūd of G͟haznīn, we do not find any mention of Uchchh in the annals of Sind and the Punjāb. Sulṭān Maḥmūd of G͟haznīn marched in 395/1005 against a stronghold named Bhātiya then located in the neighbourhood of Multān and ruled by a local Rājpūt chieftain.[2] The place has been plausibly identified with Uchchh. 'Utbī records that Bhātiya was a formidable fort surrounded by a deep and wide ditch. Bājī Rāi, a Rājpūt Bhattī, the ruler of this territory, came out of his citadel to face the invader. The encounter lasted for four days.[3] The Muslim soldiers compelled the Rāja to retreat who

2. For the identification of Bhātiya with Uchchh, see Raverty, *Mehran of Sind etc. in JASB* (1892), 247; Haige, 14; M. Nāzim, *The Life and Times of Maḥmūd of G͟hazna*, 197 *sqq.* His identification is not, however, tenable.

3. 'Utbī, 209.

ultimately shut himself in the fort which was immediately besieged by the Muslim forces. The Sulṭān ordered to fill the ditch with stones and trees. The systematic preparation of the invaders un-nerved the Rāja who fled to the nearby forest for refuge. The Muslim forces, however, discovered him. But, the fugitive Rajput did not give way and finding no way to flee stabbed himself with his own sword. The fort was then taken without further resistance. A large number of inhabitants were put to the sword and their homes plundered. The Sulṭān then paid attention towards the outlying areas of the late Rāja's kingdom. They were reduced and occuppied. After appointing his own officers to look after the administration, Maḥmūd went back to Ghaznīn.

It seems that on the exit of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, the fort again reverted to the Bhatti Rajputs as in the next reference which is found in connection with the Ghurī invasion, it is recorded that Bhattis were in occupation of the fort, and Shihāb al-Dīn wrested it from them at the time of his conquest of Multān in 571/1175. Again, the earlier story was repeated and on the arrival of the foreign invaders, the Bhattis shut themselves in the fort which was readily besieged by the Muslim army and occupied after some time. The conqueror assigned the administration of the fort and the adjoining territories to 'Alī Karmākh and himself returned to Ghaznīn.[4]

It appears that 'Ali Karmākh's transfer to the governorship of Lāhore after the defeat and surrender of Khusrau Malik in 582/1187, the governorship of Uchchh was entrusted to Malik Nāṣir al-Din Aitamur, a brave warrior and an experienced soldier. He died in the famous encounter of Andkhud and the rule of Uchchh was then entrusted to Nāṣir al-Dīn Qubācha.

Uchchh under Naṣir al-Dīn Qubācha

On the assassination of Muḥammad b. Sām, Uchchh and

4. *Cf.* Badā'ūnī, i, 54; also *Cf.* Elliot, i, 61 and 154. Mas'ūd Shihāb's assertion that Uchchh also remained under the domination of the Ismā'īlis of Multān does not seem to be correct.

Multān was retained by Nāṣir al-Dīn Qubācha who gradually became the independent ruler of the territories until the accession of Shams al-Dīn Eltutmish to the throne of Dehli. During this period, the northern parts of the sub-continent had to face the menace of Mongol invaders who for the first time came here sometimes in 618/1221, while chasing Jalāl al-Dīn Menkobarni, the last Khwārazm Shāhī ruler.

During his wanderings, Menkobarni planned to invade Qubācha's territories and sent an army towards Uchchh in the darkness of night. Qubācha's army could not stand the sudden attack and dispersed while he himself fled to Multān. Menkobarni demanded a huge sum as tribute and return of the captured soldiers including the son and daughter of Amīn Khān, an officer of his army. Qubācha accepted the demand and the invader agreed not to molest Qubācha's territory further. After a while, the invader left for his native land.

The exploits of Menkobarni came to an end in 623/1226[5], but it opened the door for the Mongols' constant inroads. As a ruler of borderland territories Qubācha had to face the onslaughts independently, especially because of the hostile attitude of Eltutmish. In 619/1222,[6] the Mongols under Turbei Tuqshīn,[7] attacked his territories and played havoc with Uchchh and Multān. Qubācha faced the situation with courage, ability and boldness. He helped the people as generously as possible to minimise their miseries.

It has been said earlier that relations between Eltutmish and Qubācha were strained from the very beginning and the

5. *See* Mīr Khund (v, 33) who records that Menkobarni crossed the Indus in Rajab 620/July 1223 and stayed in India for two years.

6. Rashid al-Dīn *Jāme' al-Tawārīkh*, i, 432; Jūzjānī, however, records 621/1224. *See* also Nizām al-Dīn, i, 45, and 99, who copies almost verbatim from Jūzjānī.

7. There has been some confusion among the contemporary and later historians about the person who led the Mongol forces. According to Rashid al-Dīn, it was led by Dorbei (or Torbei) and Jalayer jointly. For details and etymology of the names, *see* J. A. Boyle, *The History of the World Conqueror*, i, 124 fn. 4.

Sulṭān of Dehli always felt happy and satisfied whenever he heard of Qubācha's discomfiture either at the hands of Menkobarni or the Mongols and waited for an opportunity to oust him from his possessions. In Jamādī al-Awwal 614/November 1216 he reached Lāhore and took Qubācha by surprise. Qubācha abandoned the fort and fled to Uchchh leaving behind his standard, kettle drums and other war material for the invader. However, it was not the end of the hostilities. In the beginning months of 625/1228 Eltutmish decided to oust Qubācha finally and to occupy Multān and Uchchh. He sent a vanguard towards Uchchh under his vazīr Nizām al-Mulk Khwāja Muḥammad Junedī and Tāj al-Dīn Sanjar-i-Kazlak Khān. He also instructed Malik Naṣīr al-Din Aitum[9], then governor of Lahore, to march towards Multān. Kazlak Khān reached the scene of the battle fifteen days prior to the arrival of the Sulṭān and was welcomed, among others, by Minhāj-i-Sirāj.[10] The Sulṭān himself proceeded to Uchchh by way of Tabarhinda and reached there with a big force on first Rabī' al-Awwal 625/19 February 1228 to invest the fortress. Nizām al-Mulk was detailed to subdue the fortress of Bakkhar where Qubācha was then encamping. The Sulṭān himself encamped at Uchchh. Eltutmish had, however, to face obsti-

8. Jūzjānī i, 445. See also Ḥasan Nizāmī whose assertion that the encounter between the two rulers was on the question of the payment of arears of tribute is not tenable as Qubācha had never been a tributary to Eltutmish.

9. *Ibid*, 446. *see* also 419. where our author mentions him killed in the encounter of Andkhud.

10. The author gives an interesting account of his arrival and reception at the court of Sanjar. Says he : "On Wednesday the 16th of the month of Ṣafar, the author proceeded from the city of Uchchh, and reached the camp of the victorious forces. Malik of good disposition treated him with reverence and rose from his *masnad*, and went through the ceremonial of receiving him, and came to meet him, and seated the author in his own place, and put a rosy apple into his hand saying: "Take this Maulana, that it might be a good omen. "I found Malik Tāj al-Dīn Khān a Malik of sufficiently formidable aspect, his form of magnitude, and his piety pure and with a numerous suit, and followers countless."

nate resistance for three months when ultimately he took the fort by capitulation on Tuesday 27 Jāmadī al-Awwal 625/15 May 1228.[11] On the very first day of his arrival, Jūzjānī presented himself to Eltutmish.[12]

On hearing the fall of Uchchh, Qubācha sent his son, 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Behrām Shāh to Eltutmish for conciliation. The Sulṭān received him with courtesy and started negotiations, apparently to gain time. The prince was not allowed to leave for Bakkhar while war continued un-abated. As Nizām al-Mulk was close at hand to invest the Fort of Bakkhar, Qubācha was alarmed and desperately threw himself on board to escape. He instructed his vazīer 'Ain al-Mulk to follow him with treasures. However, while crossing the Indus his boat sank in the river. Unfortunate Qubācha died on 22 Jamādī al-Ākhir 625/9 June 1228.

Thus came to an end the sovereign state of Nāṣir al-Dīn Qubācha where he ruled independently for well over twenty-two years.[13] During these days Uchchh and Multān had become great centres of political, cultural and literary activities, and his court had turned into a great rendezvous of eminent scholars, poets, saints and ulema who had gathered there from far off places like Khwārazm, Ghur and Ghaznīn.[14]

11. *Ibid. Cf.* Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (*Eng. Trans.*) i, 544 fn. 2.
12. *Ibid* 447.
13. *Ibid* ii, 5.
14. Muḥammad 'Aufī, *Lubāb al-Albāb*, 551.

CHAPTER THREE

Uchchh under the Dehli Sultanate

Eltutmish appointed Tāj al-Dīn Sanjar-i-Kazlak Khān governor of Uchchh and its environs. Kazlak Khān was a Turkish slave purchased at Baran by Eltutmish during the reign of Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh. On his coming of age, the Sulṭān took him into his own service and assigned him the office of Chāshnīgīr (Comptroller of the Royal Kitchen), and after sometimes, Amīr-i-Ākhur (Head of the Stables). Later on, he was appointed governor of Uchchh. The governor streamlined the administration of the newly conquered territory. He made special efforts to rehabilitate the local people who had suffered considerably because of the military conflict between the Sulṭān of Dehli and Qubācha. It has been recorded that through the efforts of the new governor, the territories soon got their prosperity back and the inhabitants were treated with kindness and consideration.[15]

Kazlak Khān died in 629/1231. The governorship of Uchchh was then assigned to Malik Saif al-Dīn Aibak.[16] Jūzjānī calls him Aibak-i-Uchchh perhaps because of his association with Uchchh. He was also a trusted Turkish slave of the Sulṭān and prior to this assignment, had held the fiefs of Nārnūl, Baran and Sunām. Our historian records that the governor was a

15. Jūzjānī i, 447.

16. For the etymology of Aibak, see Raverty, *T. N.* i, 729 fn. 4.

resourceful administrator and capable general who served the people efficiently and justly.

Shams al-Dīn Eltutmish died on 20 Sha'bān 633/26 April 1236 and Rukn al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh, his eldest surviving son, succeeded to the throne.[17] The young sulṭān gave himself up to pleasure and dissipation and never bothered himself about the affairs of the government. He was dethroned after about seven months as a result of a revolt when, in Rabī' al-Awwal 634/November 1236, Raẓiya the daughter of Eltutmish ascended the throne.[18]

While these changes were taking place at the centre, the north-western parts of the Sultanate were threatened by the incursion of Malik Saif al-Dīn Ḥasan Karlugh who invaded the fort of Uchchh. Malik Saif al-Dīn Aibak came out of the fort with a large and well-organized force to face the enemy. A fierce battle ensued in which the enemy's forces were routed and Karlugh had to leave the place discomfited. Saif al-Dīn's singular victory brought peace into the territory. However, shortly after his success the governor fell from his horse and died of the serious injuries.[19] The dates of the encounter and the death of the governor have not been recorded by contemporary or near contemporary historians. It may be presumed that the incident occurred sometimes between the years 633/1235 and 635/1237. Nor do they record the name of his successor. In fact the history of the territory remained almost un-recorded until the time Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz revolted against the centre and declared his independence shortly before 639/1241.

Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz or Malik 'Izz al-Dīn Kabīr Khān Ayāz-i-Hazār al-Mu'izzī, to name him in full, was one of the most important of the *Ghulāmān-i-Chehlgānī* who played a decisive

17. Jūzjānī, i, 445.

18. *Ibid*, 457; Sirhindī, 24; Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad, (i, 66), records 635 A.H. which is incorrect.

19. Jūzjānī, ii, 8-9.

role in the power politics of the Sultanate. A Rūmī Turk by descent, he came to Hindustān to join the service under Eltutmish. Jūzjānī records that he was 'wise, prudent, experienced, and in agility and martial accomplishment incomparable of his time'. In 625/1227, the Sulṭān appointed him governor of Multān, and bestowed upon him the title of Kabīr Khān-i-Mangīrnī. During the weak rule of Firūz Shāh and Raẓiya, the governor became more powerful and revolted several times. In 639/1241, he finally broke away from Dehli and declared himself the independent ruler of Uchchh and Multān. However, he could not survive long enough to consolidate his position in the territory and died the same year.[20] His son Tāj al-Dīn Abū Bakr-i-Ayāz succeeded him to rule Multān and Uchchh. A young man of good disposition, fiery, very impetuous and courageous, he followed his father's policy and succeeded in reducing large areas extending beyond the limits of Uchchh and Multān. During his reign, the Qarlughs once again tried in vain to occupy Multān and Uchchh. Like his father, Abū Bakr was not destined to rule for long and died at the young age[21]. With his death Uchchh and Multān once again reverted to Delhi, and were assigned to Malik Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Qarāqash Khān-i-Actkīn.

During the early years of Sulṭān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh's reign, in 645/1247, Malik 'Izz al-Dīn Balban-i-Kishlū Khān al-Sultānī pleaded to bestow upon him the governorship of Uchchh and Multān. The Sulṭān accepted his request on the condition that the governor would relinquish charge of Siwālīk and Nāgaur before taking over the fiefs of his choice. But, he took over the charge of the two places and did not relinquish Nāgaur. The action annoyed the Sulṭān who came out of his capital personally along with his forces to punish the defaulting governor. On his arrival, however, Balban submitted

20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*

to the Sulṭān and after relinquishing the charge of Nāgaur, proceeded to Uchchh.[22]

Shortly afterwards, Saif al-Dīn Ḥasan Qarlugh again appeared before the gates of Multān and invested the citadel. Balban rushed from Uchchh to repel the invader. During the encounter Ḥasan Qarlugh was slain. Balban entered the fortress of Multān. However, the Qarlugh troops kept the loss of their leader secret and besieged the fort. Negotiations were then started for peace. The diplomacy and tenacity of the Qarlughs compelled Balban to surrender Multān who then returned to Uchchh. On his way, however, he came to know about Ḥasan Qarlugh's death and in vain repented for surrendering the fort to a leaderless band of fighters.

The Qarlughs too were not destined to hold the fort for long. After sometimes Malik Nuṣrat al-Dīn Sher Khān Sunqar invaded Multān and wrested it from the Qarlughs and placed it under the control of Malik Kurez. The development again encouraged Malik Balban to try his luck to obtain the possession of Multān. On Saturday 2 Rabī' al-Awwal 648/Saturday 4 June 1250, he set out from Uchchh. While he was still on his way, Sher Khān-i-Sunqar appeared before the gates of Uchchh and invested the fort. Balban had to rush back to patch up with the besieger. Sunqar repeated the old story of Qubācha and Eltutmish and detained Balban in his camp until the time the garrison of Uchchh surrendered the fortress. Discomfited Balban had to flee to Dehli to seek the help of the reigning Sulṭān who moved to Uchchh with his forces. Sunqar fled to Turkistan and both the fortresses were again assigned to Malik Balbān.[23] Ungrateful Balban turned rebellious and sought alliance with the Mongols. The Sulṭān moved out of Dehli to check the Mongols and the rebellious governor but could not gain much. Balban is said to have been ruling the territories

22. Jūzjānī, i, 478.

23. Jūzjānī, ii, 22 *sqq*.

till 658/1260 when Jūzjānī's account comes to an end abruptly.

Ghiyās al-Dīn Balban ascended the throne of Dehli on 13 Jamādī al-Awwal 664/20 February 1266,[24] and decided to appoint his elder son Qā'ān Malik Sulṭān Muḥammad the governor of Multān, Debālpur, Lāhore, and the entire areas of Sind including, obviously, Uchchh.[25] The actual date of this appointment has not come down to us but it must have occurred sometimes in 66 /1270, after the death of Sher Khān.[26]

The situation at the frontiers was at that time very precarious indeed. The Mongols had made it a practice to invade the frontier towns at least once a year to extract men and money. The central authority was unable to deal with them effectively. Sulṭān Muḥammad was, therefore, sent with all the requisites of war and a body of experienced advisors to meet the situation. Moreover, the prince visited Dehli every year to seek advice from his experienced father.[27] In 682/1282, Sulṭān Muḥammad visited Dehli to see his father. This time Balban showed extraordinary kindness towards his son and declared him his heir-apparent.[28] Next year the Mongols appeared before the gates of Multān with twenty thousand force under the command of Temer, a Chingezi noble and governor of Herāt, Qandhār,

24. Baranī, 66; Sirhindī, 40.

25. Uchchh has not, however, been mentioned specifically by any contemporary historian. It appears that the political importance of this place was at this time at the ebb. In fact, it had started diminishing with its conquest and annexation with the Delhi Sultanate under Eltutmish. The relevant accounts of various contemporary and near-contemporary historians reveal its dependance on Multān of which it had become an appendage and almost all the governors appointed to rule Multān therefore looked after the fief of Uchchh as well.

26. The episode of poisoning the governor by Balban has been recorded by Baranī (65) and later repeated with variatious by other historians like Sirhindi, Nizām al-Dīn, Badā'ūnī etc. The assertion has been challenged by Raverty [ii, 794 fn. 1] on chronological and historical grounds.

27. Baranī, 69.

28. *Ibid*, 70 *sqq*. Baranī records the details of the advice the Sulṭān imparted to his son to run the administration efficiently.

Balkh, Bāmiyān etc.[29] Sulṭān Muḥammad came out with a big force to repel the enemy. The encounter resulted in the defeat of Temer, but the prince was killed along with his small contingent while offering his Jum'a prayers, by a Mongol officer who had been lying in ambush near the battle field.[30] The tragic event occurred on Friday 1 Ẓi'l Ḥijja 683/Sunday 9 March, 1285.[31] After the tragic death of his son and heir-apparent, Sulṭān Ghiyās al-Dīn Balban appointed his youthful grandson Kai Khusrau to replace his father.[32]

For the next few years, Prince Kai Khusrau continued ruling Multān and adjoining territories including probably Uchchh. He was successful in guarding frontiers against the Mongols effectively. However, court conspiracies did not leave the young prince alone to rule the territories peacefully. After the death of Balban, he started having difficulties with the centre which was now under the new Sulṭān, Mu'izz al-Dīn.[33] He was called to Dehli and was murderd alongwith his companions while on his way in the district of Rohtak.[34] The days of the last Ilbārī Sulṭān were also numbered. He was attacked by paralysis on account of his excess in wine and venery and died in 789/1290.[35] With his death ended the Turkish

29. Firish'a, i, 87.
30. Badā'ūnī, i, 133—34.
31. Baranī, 109. He is, however, vague and careless in recording the correct data and gives 684/1285, while Mir Ḥasan the poet and courtier of the prince and an eye witness of the encounter, records the exact date *i.e.*, Friday 1 Zi'l-Hijja 683/Sunday 9 March, 1285. The poet who became prisoner of war alongwith Amir Khusrau, furnishes a detailed account of the tragedy in the shape of a *marsiya* in prose. It has been copied by latter historians including Nizām al-Dīn (i, 98) who gives the date Friday 3 Zi'l Ḥijja 683. Badā'ūnī (i, 131) only gives the month and year. It is rather surprising that Baranī does not utilize vital information contained in the *marsiya*.
32. Baranī, 110. *cf. CHI*, iii, 82.
33. Baranī, 129. *cf.* Muḥammad 'Azīz Aḥmad, 282 fn. 4; *CHI* (iii, 82) is rather vague in drawing conclusion on the affairs.
34. Baranī, 133; Nizām al-Dīn, i, 105.
35. Baranī, 173.

Empire of Dehli which had ruled the major parts of Hindustān for more than eighty years.

The Khalji Rule

Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh Khaljī ascended the throne of Dehli on 3 Jamādī al-Ākhir 689/13 June 1290. He appointed his son Arkalī Khān governor of (Uchchh and) Multān as a reward to his brilliant achievement in suppressing the revolt of Malik Chhajjū.[36]

The year 691/1291-92 saw the Mongols again striking at the frontiers. This time they had arrived with a full force of 150,000 under the command of 'Abdallah, a grandson of Halākū Khān. Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn marched out of the capital to face the Mongols. Howeer, a truce of friendship was concluded with the Mongols. 'Abdallah returned to his native land leaving behined Alghū or Ulugh Khān, a relation of Chingez Khān, along with some other Mongol officers. The Sulṭān married one of his daughters to the Mongol chief. Later on, the locality where these Mongol immigrants had settled was named after them as Moghulpura.[37] Similarly, a great number of them were settled at Uchchh and the place was named Uchchh Mughla.[38]

Arkalī Khān proved an asset to his father's administration. He served as governor of Lāhore, Uchchh and also acted as regent at Dehli, while his father was away on his military campaigns in the south. After the sudden death of his elder brother, he also became the heir-apparent. However, after Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn's assassination on 17 Ramaẓān 692/20 July 1296, 'Alā' al-Dīn, the treacherous nephew of the deceased

36. Baranī, 184, Uchchh has not, however, been mentioned specifically, but it may be assumed that it was included in the assignment.

37. Baranī, 219 *sqq.*

38. A comparatively insignificant part of the modern town of Uchchh, it is a small village now, having a total population of about 1500 souls. The ruined tombs and mosques and some low and high mounds located in the vicinity reveal the antiquity of the place.

Sulṭān, proclaimed himself the Sulṭān of Dehli.[39] Arkalī Khān was driven to Dehli by the usurper-king and while on his way, was murdered alongwith his nears and dears. Uchchh, Bhakkar, Sīwistān and Thatta were assigned to Nuṣrat Khān.[40]

It appears that during the last days of 'Alā' al-Dīn, the iqṭā' of Uchchh was assigned to Bahrām Aibā entitled Kashlū Khān, an influential amīr of the Khaljī court who later on became a trusted friend of Ghāzi Malik, then governor of Dipalpur and, later on, the first Tughluq Sulṭān. So close and cordial were the relations between the two that Ghāzī Malik called Aiba his brother and after the victory over Khusrau suggested to Aiba to ascend the throne. But the later refused to accede to the suggestion and in turn suggested Ghāzī Malik's enthronement.[41]

The Tughluq Rule

During the reign of the first Tughluq sovereign the north-west frontiers including Uchchh remained under the control of Kashlū Khān. However, with the accession of his son, Jūna Khān, known to history as Muḥammad Tughluq, his influence and authority declined. The event has been mentioned by almost every contemporary and near-contemporary chronicler, including Baranī[42]. Sirhindī, Badā'ūnī,[43] Ferishta,[44] etc. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa records that Kashlū Khān had incurred the Sulṭān's displeasure for having buried the corpses of Bahā' al-Dīn Gurshāsh

39. Baranī, (220 *sqq.*) r ecords the details of the circumstances which led to this treacherous and cold blooded murder. Khusrau, Nizām al-Dīn, Badā'ūnī, Sirhindī and Fer'shta merely copy Baranī's account, but give some minor details as well. For a fuller treatment of the subject. *see* K. S. Lal, *op. cit.* 48 *sqq.*

40. Baranī, 248, Ferishta, 102;

41. Amīr Khusrau, *Tughluq Nāma*, 142, Iṣāmī 410.

42. Baranī, 478. His account is as usual vague and sketchy.

43. Iṣāmī 410 *sqq.* He calls him Kishlī Khān.

44. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa iii, See also Sirhindī [100] who relates a different story.

45. Badā'ūnī, 227.

46. Ferishtā, i, 242.

and Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn Bahādur which, while being paraded through the empire, had reached his territories. The Sulṭān sent for Aibā to the court to explain his position, but he refused to attend and revolted.[47]

The Sulṭān rushed to the north to suppress the revolt. During the encounter, Kashlu Khān was slain. The Sulṭān appointed Qiwām al-Mulk Maqbūl governor of Uchchh and Multān. Originally, a Hindu of Telingana and named Karna, Qiwām al-Mulk was previously in the service of the Rā'i of Telingana, but had latter embraced Islam and joined the service of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq who named him Maqbūl. He was an expert in arithmetic and possessed great acumen, intelligence and worldly wisdom.

Qiwām al-Mulk ruled the territories for about fourteen years when, in 742/1341, he was replaced by Fakhr al-Dīn Bahzād.[48] He too was shifted and replaced with 'Imād al-Mulk Sartez. According to 'Iṣāmī and Sirhīndī, Sartez was an important courtier and had earlier served as the commander-in-chief ('arẓ al-Mamālik) of the imperial army.[49]

On the death of Muḥammad Tughluq, his cousin Fīrūz ascended the throne on 2 Rajab 752/25 August 1351. Sartez was replaced with 'Ain al-Mulk Multānī.[50] No specific mention of Uchchh has been made in the *Manshur*[51] issued by the Sulṭān at the time of his appointment, but it may be assumed that Uchchh was then an iqtā' included in Multān.

During the latter days of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq, in 760/1358, another experienced general Tātār Khān was appointed the *Shiqdār* of the vast areas of north including Uchchh. We do not know up to what date Tātār Khān ruled these territories. However, after 18 years we hear of another appointment made in

47. Ibn Baṭṭūṭā; Badā'ūni, i, 226.
48. Ferishta, i, 136.
49. Sirhīndī, 101 and 106-7: 'Iṣāmī, 516 *sqq.*
50. 'Afīf, 408-415.
51. 'Ain al-Mulk Māhrū, *Munsha 'āt-i-Māhrū'*, 8 ff.

778/1376 by Fīrūz Shāh to ward off the Mongol incursions. This was Malik al-Sharq Mardān Daulat Naṣīr al-Mulk.[52] Mardān Daulat's association with these areas continued for at least three generations as after the death of Mardān Daulat, his son and grandson were appointed successively to govern the frontier territories.

Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh died on 18 Ramaẓān 790/20 September 1388.[53] This led to a political chaos resulting in a virtual war of succession between the various contenders of the throne. During this period of uncertainty, the center was unable to exercise effective control over the provinces especially those situated on the frontiers. In 798/1395, we hear of a conflict between Khiẓr Khān and Sārang Khān, then governors of Multān and Depālpur respectively. Sārang Khān occuppied the forts of Multān and Uchchh and appointed Malik 'Alī to govern Uchchh on his behalf. Sārang's victory alarmed Muḥammad Shāh who despatched Tātār Khān to deal with the ambitious governor.[54]

Timūr's invasion

This was the state of anarchy and confusion when Amīr Tīmūr Ṣāḥibqirān decided to invade Hindustān. He appointed his grandson, Pīr Muḥammad Jahāngīr, the governor of the provinces of Kābul, Ghaznīn, Qandhar and other adjacent territories and encouraged him to invade the northern parts of the sub-continent.[55] In Rabī' al-sānī 800/December 1398, Pīr Muḥammad Jahāngīr crossed the Indus and besieged the fort of Uchchh. Sārang Khan sent reinforcement under the command of Malik Tāj al-Dīn, to help Malik 'Alī, but it was intercepted by the invader. Pīr Muhammad Jahāngīr asked Sārang Khān

52. Sirhīndī, 133; Badā'ūnī (i, 252) gives the date 781/1379.
53. Sirhīndī, 14; Badā'ūnī, i, 225.
54. Niẓām al-Dīn, i, 253.
55. Malfūẓāt-i-Tīmurī in Elliot and Dowson, iii, 399 *sqq*. Yazdī, ii, 14 *sqq*.

to submit and pay yearly tribute. But the latter rejected the offer as he had a large army and numerous elephants. Besides, he was a valiant fighter and was well known for his gallantry and generosity. Pīr Muḥammad could not reduce the fort and in the course of fighting, Tīmūr's son-in-law was killed.

On hearing the news, Tīmūr himself set out to help Pīr Muḥammad Jahāngīr and, in Ṣafar 801/October 1398, arrived at Multān. Sārang Khān could not resist the fresh attack for long and had to surrender. Tīmūr arrested Sārang and many of his men and took them to Samarqand where they were put to death.[56]

Tīmūr's devastation created havoc in the northern territories including Uchchh. On his return the invader appointed Khiẓr Khān governor of Uchchh, Multān and Dīpālpur besides Dehlī. This occurred on 27 Jamādī al-Ākhir 801/5 March 1399.[57] Unfortunately, details of Khizr Khān's administrative reforms to rehabilitate the people are not known to us. It appears that much of his time was devoted to consolidate his position in order to gain supremacy at Dehlī. We do not hear about our frontier province in the period until the time Khiẓr Khān eventually ascended the throne of Dehlī as the first ruler of the Sayyid dynasty on 15 Rabīʿ al-Awwal 817/June 1414.[58] He then appointed Malik ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, an adopted son of Malik Sulaimān, in his place to look after the affairs and conferred on him the title of ʿAlā' al-Mulk.[59] Unfortunately, not much has been recorded of the history of Uchchh during this and subsequent periods until the establishment of the independent rule of the Langāhs with their headquarter at Multān.

56. *Ibid.*
57. Yazdī, ii, 175-76; Ferishta, i, 159; Sirhindī, 166-67.
58. Sirhīndī, 183.
59. *Ibid*, 183.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Langah Suzerainty

The chaos and uncertainty prevailing throughout the Sultanate under the Sayyid suzerainty played havoc to the peace and prosperity of the provincial centres. Multān and Uchchh were the worst hit in the northern parts of the sub-continent. When there was no hope of redress from the centre, the elite of these provinces assembled and appealed to Shaikh Muḥammad Yūsuf, a great-grandson and *sajjāda nashīn* of the celebrated saint Shaikh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariya in 847/1443. The saintly personage accepted the appeal and managed the affairs of Multān and Uchchh so efficiently that the province soon became prosperous and the people started enjoying once again peace and prosperity. However, his rule was destined to be short-lived as he soon fell a victim to a conspiracy hatched against him by a Baluch leader of the Langāh tribe, Rā'i Sahra or Sahīra who treacherously expelled Shaikh Yūsuf from Multān and occupied the Fort.[1] The Shaikh then left for Dehlī to seek shelter with Buhlūl Lodī where he was received with honour and his son was married to a daughter of Buhlūl.[2]

Shaikh Yūsuf's short rule and occupation of power by Rā'i Sahra or Sahīra has been related by Ferishta[3], Niẓām al-Dīn,[4]

1. Sirhindi, 123.
2. Ferishta, ii, 324.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Nizām al-Dīn, i,

Nahawandī,[5] Ma'ṣūm,[6] Sujān Rā'i etc.[7] However, 'Abd al-Ḥaq omits the episode and maintains that on the decline of the political power at Dehlī. Budhan Khān Sindī, a leader of the Baluch tribe of the Langāhs collected his followers at Uchchh and marched upon Multān. He expelled Khān Khānān and occupied the fort. He assumed the title of Maḥmūd Shāh and founded an independent rule. This occurred in 841/1437.[8] He ruled peacefully for well over sixteen years and died in 857/1452.[9] We do not know the details of his rule but the achievements of his successor indicate that Maḥmūd Shāh must have been successful in maintaining law and order which provided peace and prosperity.

On Maḥmūd Shāh's death his son, Quṭb al-Dīn, succeeded to the throne[10] who also ruled for sixteen years and died in 857/1452. His eldest son Sulṭān Ḥusain succeeded to rule the territories. He has been regarded as the ablest and strongest ruler of the dynasty who extended his kingdom up to

5. Nahāwandī, i, 266.
6. Ma'ṣūm, 148 *sqq.*
7. Sujān Rā'i, 292 *sqq.*
8. 'Abd al-Ḥaq 183a ff. The time of the founding of the new independent kingdom at Multān does not, however, corroborate with subsequent events of the period. If we accept 847/1443 as the year of Shaikh Yūsuf's election, it would not be possible for him to take refuge at the court of Buhlūl on his exile after two years i.e. 849/1445 as Buhlūl came to the throne at least six years later than the above date. Further, none of these historians mention the name of Budhan Khān who assumed the title of Maḥmūd Shāh as the first ruler of the dynasty and ruled as long as 16 years. They begin with Rā'i Sahīra who assumed the title of Quṭb al-Dīn, in fact the son and successor of Maḥmūd Shāh. Under the circumstances, the date will have to be pushed a little further, sometimes during the later days of the last Sayyid ruler, 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Ālam Shāh.
9. There is some confusion among the historians about this date. 'Abd al-Ḥaq records 858/1454, while Nūr al-Ḥaq (f. 268 b.) gives the date of his accession 841 and says that he ruled for 17 years. This makes 858/1454. But, if we take into account the two years of Shaikh Yūsuf's reign who came to the throne in 847/1443, the date would be 865/1460.
10. Ferishtā, ii, 325. He does not mention Maḥmūd Shāh and begins his account with Quṭb al-Dīn.

Shorekot, Chiniot, Karor and the whole territory up to Dhankot.[11] It appears that immediately after assuming power, he planned to annex the neighbouring territories to his kingdom. The possession of these strong forts greatly enhanced his power and prestige.[12] However, the envious eyes of Buhlūl Shāh were constantly on the prosperous province of Multān. Soon after his accession to the Dehlī throne in 855/1451, he set out for Multān to conquer it,[13] but could not achieve his goal as he was forced to return to his capital to check the sudden attack of Maḥmūd Sharqī on Dehlī.[14] After about six years, he again planned to recover Multān but had hardly reached Lāhore when again he had to rush back to the capital due to renewed interference of the Sharqī Sulṭān.[15]

Meanwhile, Shaikh Yūsuf the former ruler of Multān who was staying at the court of Buhlūl, was constantly persuading and instigating the Lodī king to send expedition against Ḥusain Langāh. Buhlūl then decided to entrust the task to his third son Bārbak Shāh Tātār Khān, governor of the Punjāb, was directed to accompany the prince.[16] The time of the expedition was well chosen as Ḥusain was engaged in suppressing his brother's revolt at Kot Karor. Bārbak Shāh arrived in the neighbourhood of Multān and encamped at the north of the city. However, before he could assault the fort Ḥusain hastened to Multān and entered the fort during the later part of the night. Next morning, he came out of the fort with 12,000 men and ordered them to shoot three successive volleys of arrows at the

11. Modern Dīn Kot located in the District of Miānwālī near Kālabāgh.

12. Ferishtā, ii, 326.

13. *Cf.* Ne'matallah, *Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahānī*, i, 142; Nizām al-Dīn, i, 301.

14. For a detailed account of these conflicts, see *CHI*, iii, 229 fn.; *The Dehli Sultanate*, 140 *sqq*: Muḥammad Sa'īd, *The Sharqī Sultanate of Jaunpur*, 70 ff.

15. *Ibid*, 155; Nizām al-Dīn, i, 307.

16. *Ibid*.

enemy.[17] The first volley of 12,000 arrows, says Ferishta, 'created confusion and disorder in the army, the second turned them to a mess and the third put them to flight. They ran in panic, did not halt until they had reached Chiniot where they treacherously killed the keeper of the fort and some of his men'.[18] The phenomenal victory made Sulṭan Ḥusain immensely strong after which Buhlūl never dared to attack the territories of the Langāh ruler.

The power and prestige thus gained by Sulṭān Ḥusain not only made him popular among his own people, but also compelled his immediate neighbours to reckon him as an important ruler. It was during his reign that a number of notables of the Baluch tribes living in the territories of Kutch, Makrān and Balūchistān flocked to his court where they were received with favour and were rewarded jāgīrs and stipends, and were allowed to settle in Sītpur and Dhankot.[19]

Buhlūl died in 894/1488 and was succeeded by Sikandar Shāh. Ḥusain Langāh availed this opportunity of establishing cordial relations with Dehlī and sought alliance with the new Lodī ruler. He sent an envoy to Dehlī with condolence message and good wishes and presents. Sikandar received the envoy warmly and as a result of negotiations, a treaty was concluded between the two governments for mutual cooperation and respect for each other's frontiers.[20]

Ḥusain Langāh also maintained friendly relations with Sulṭān Muzaffar Shāh of Gujerāt. It appears that frequent exchange of envoys was the usual practice between the two neighbourly rulers. In this connection, an interesting episode has been recorded by Ferishta relating to these contacts. It is said that Ḥusain sent an envoy named Qāẓī Muḥammad to the

17. Nahāwandī, i, 276; Bhandārī, 293.
18. Ferishta, ii, 326.
19. *Ibid*
20. Ferishta, ii, 327; Nahāwandī, i, 272; Niẓām al-Dīn, iii, 530.

court to Muzaffar who was instructed to study royal palaces of Gujerāt so that the Langāh Sulṭān might build a palace of equal grandeur at Multān. On return, the Qāẓī submitted that after visiting the magnificent palaces of Gujerāt, he was of the view that the entire annual revenue of the kingdom of Multān would not suffice to meet the cost of even one such palace. Ḥusain was very disappointed, but was consoled by his vazier 'Imād al-Mulk Būbak who remarked: 'although the kingdoms of Gujerāt, Mālwa, Bengāl and the Deccan could boast of their wealth and prosperity, yet the land of Multān and Uchchh excelled them all for the presence of pious men and scholars particularly the descendents of Shaikh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariya as well as the representatives of the line of Bukhārī saints. He also mentioned the names of two outstanding scholars of the time, Maulānā Fatḥallah and the latter's pupil, Maulānā 'Azīzallah.[21]

Ḥusain Langāh reigned for thirty years and gave real peace and prosperity to his people. In his old age, he assigned the task of government to his elder son Fīrūz Khān and retired. Unfortunately, however, Fīrūz Khān was an inexperienced and haughty youth who soon picked up quarrel with the vazier's son Bilāl who was killed by a hired slave of the young Sulṭān. The vazier in turn secretly managed to poison Fīrūz. The tragedy compelled the old Sulṭān to assume once more the reigns of gevernment. He called Jām Bāyazīd from Shorkot for help to get rid of the vazier. The Jām hurried to Multān and lost no time in putting 'Imād al-Mulk under arrest. Sulṭān Ḥusain appointed Bāyazīd his new minister as well as the guardian of the minor Mahmūd, son of Firūz who was then declared the heir apparent. The arrangement brought a temporary phase of tranquil and peace at the centre, and the people including the aged Ṣultān felt a relief. However, the strain affected his health dangerously. He fell ill after a few days and died on

21. Ferishta, ii, 327.

Saturday 26 Ṣafar 904/Saturday 13 October 1498.[22]

Sulṭān Ḥusain was succeeded by his grandson Mahmūd. The young king soon indulged himself in pleasure and a band of unworthy men gathered around him. Soon his relations were estranged with Jām Bāyazīd who gave up in disgust his residence at the court and moved to his private residence located in the outskirts of the city from where he continued to administer the affairs of the kingdom. However, the king was poisoned against Bāyazīd. Disgusted and dismayed Bāyazīd left for Shorkot. The news alarmed Maḥmūd who immediately sent a detachment to intercept the fugitive. Bāyazīd defeated the detachment and declared his allegiance with Sikandar Lodī. He sent an emissary to Dehli to inform the Lodī Sulṭān of the new situation.[23]

Sikander was delighted with the news. He received the emissary with rare favour, recognized Bāyazīd as *de facto* ruler of Shorkot and sent robes of honour and presents for him. He also sent instructions to his governor at Lāhore, Daulat Khān Lodi, to help Bāyazīd in the event of any trouble which obviously meant Maḥmūd's punitive action against his rebellious minister.[24]

Maḥmūd accordingly made preparations to punish Bāyazīd and marched towards Shorkot with a strong force which

22. There is some confusion among the authorities about the exact date of Ḥusain's death and the length of his rule. Nizām al-Dīn [iii, 435] quotes two dates, 904/1498 and 908/1502. Later, however, he confirms the earlier date in connection with the account of his successor, Maḥmūd, when he records that Mahmūd died in 931/1524 after a reign of 27 years (*Ibid*, 540) Nahāwandī also confirms these dates but says that Ḥusain ruled for 30 or 34 years (i, 275-281), while Nizām al-Dīn makes it 35 or 36. Ferishta also gives two dates and makes the reign for 32 or 34 years (ii, 328) 'Abd al-Ḥaq, however, reduces it to 30 years (fol. 123a) It has been supported by Nūr al-Ḥaq as well (fol. 270*b*). Similarly, Abu'l Fazl (A'īn, i, 555) regards the length of the rule as 30 years. It may perhaps be safe to take 904/1498 as the date of Ḥusain's death and 30 years as the length of his rule.

23. Ferishta, ii, 329: Abu'l Fazl, *A'in*, i, 555.

24. *Ibid*; Nizām al-Dīn, iii, 537.

encamped at the banks of Rāvī. Daulat Khān also rushed to the scene to help Bāyazīd. However, no fighting ensued as the Lodī governor made the two parties accept a settlement which recognized Bāyazīd the *de jure* ruler of Shorkot and the Rāvī formed the boundary between him and the Langāh ruler.[25]

The prestige and power gained by the Langāh rulers in the past decades was now on the wane. Maḥmūd had hardly reconciled himself with the rude shock of his kingdom's bifurcation when news were brought to him of yet another and more serious attack of the Arghūn chief, Shāh Ḥusain, then ruler of Thatta. In 931/1525, he marched towards Uchchh and after reducing the fort, proceeded to Multān.[26] Maḥmūd collected a force of 80,000 men and came out of the fort to face the enemy. The skirmishes continued for one month without any result. During this period his vazier and son-in-law, Shaikh Shujā' Bukhārī became hostile and poisoned the king.[27] Thus ended the chequered but eventful rule of the sixth ruler of the Langāh dynasty who reigned for 27 years.

Maḥmūd's mother then collected senior officers of the army and took them into confidence. It was decided that Maḥmūd's sudden death should be kept secret for some time to make fresh preparations to face the enemy. However, the strategy could not succeed and the news leaked out. On this, the senior amīrs and courtiers hastily raised the infant son of Maḥmūd to the throne with the title of Sulṭān Ḥusain II. However, actual power still wielded by Maḥmūd's old vazier and his suspected murderer. It was decided to send Shaikh Bahā' al-Dīn to Shāh Ḥasan for reconciliation. The Shaikh met the invader in his camp at the bank of Ghāra river. After deliberations, it was decided that the river should be made the boundary between the territories of the Arghūns and Langāhs. Thus the agree-

25. *Ibid*; Nahāwandī, i, 228.
26. See, for details, Ma'ṣūm, 152 ff.
27. *Ibid* 154; Qāne', i, 116.

ment further curtailed the jurisdiction of the Langāhs.[28]

Sulṭān Ḥusain II proved to be the last of the Langāh ruler. Soon after his accession, family feuds and court intrigues ensued which the young and inexperienced king was unable to control. Unfortunately, his minister, Shaikh Shujā' al-Mulk Bukhārī was equally inexperienced and corrupt[29] and was, therefore, unable to render any help to his master. The situation deteriorated gradually to the extent that the people of Multān wished to have a change of rule. In the closing months of 932/1526, Langar Khān approached the Arghūn ruler and persuaded him to take over the territory.

Arghūn was quick to take advantage of this situation and launched another attack on Multān. Shujā' al-Mulk knowing that the provisions in the fort would not last for more than a month, shut himself up disregarding the advice of the commanders who would have preferred to give battle in the open. The enemy took full advantage of the situation and intensified the siege by guarding communications with the fort so carefully that no help from outside could reach the besieged. The sufferings of thepeople further aggravated by the raids which were carried out on private houses by Shujā' al-Mulk to search out hidden stores of grains. Preferring death to such a miserable existence, many people climbed the wall of the fort and threw themselves down into the moat.[30] The siege dragged on for over a year when in Rabī' al-Sānī 933/January 1527 Arghūn's army entered the fort of Multān.[31] The atrocities committed by the victorious army in Multān have been described by various authorities.[32]

28. Ma'ṣūm, 154-55. *Cf.* Ferishta, i, 331; Nizām al-Dīn, iii, 541; Nahāwandī, i, 281.

29. According to Ma'ṣūm (154), the vazier was guilty of some corruption for which Maḥmūd wanted to punish him and in order to escape punishment, the vazier plotted to poison the king.

30. *Ibid* 157 ff.

31. Ma'ṣūm, 159. Ferishta; (ii, 331) gives 932 while Nizām al-Dīn (iii, 543) says 'end of 932'.

32. Ma'ṣūm, 159; Nizām al-Dīn, iii, 544; Ferishta, ii, 331; Nahāwandī, i, 281.

The unfortunate Ḥusain Langāh and his minister Shujā' al-Mulk were arrested and tortured to the maximum to extract money from them and after sometimes were put to death.[33]

Thus came to an end the rule of Langāhs who reigned the province independently for 83 years and bestowed upon it peace and prosperity. Arghūn entrusted the administration of the territory to his deputy, Khwāja Shams al-Dīn and Lankar Khān[34] and after staying for two months there, returned to Thatta. The task of rehabilitating the ruined country was undertaken by Lankar Khān who succeeded with great difficulty in persuading the scattered people to return to their homes. However, the glory and prosperity of the province which its people had seen during the days of the Langāhs had gone for ever. It had reduced to an insignificant principality of the Arghūn kingdom eventually to be merged into the Moghul empire of India being founded by Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur.

It would, however, be seen that throughout this period Uchchh played little effective role in the political affairs of the kingdom of Multān to which it had become an appanage. In fact, it had gradually turned into an unimportant principality looked after by petty adminstrators of the Langāh rulers. The dominant and more peaceful rule of the Moghuls also did little to improve the condition of this place. Throughout the period, the Bukhārī and Gīlāni Makhdūms exercised secular as well as spiritual powers.[35]

33. Niẓām al-Dīn, iii, 543; Naāhwandī, i, 283; Haqqi' f. 129. According to Ma'ṣūm (159), however, Shaikh Bāha' al-Dīn presented Sulṭān Ḥusain and his sister to Ḥasan Arghūn who gave them over to Miskin Tarkhān, one of his prominent courtiers. (*cf.* Qāne', 205 f.n. 2). Miskīn married the sister and adopted the young prince as his son.

34. Niẓām al-Dīn, iii, 544; Ferishta, ii, 332: Naḥāwandī (i, 284) reads Lashkar Khān instead of Lankar Khān while Ma'ṣūm (160) mentions Dost Amīr Akhur in place of Lashkar Khān.

35. *Gazetteer of Bahawalpur State*, pt. A, 47.

CHAPTER FIVE

The 'Abbasi and the Makhdum Rulers

The influence and dissemination of the 'Abbā ī Dā'ūdpotras in our areas has a history of its own and is full of romance, chivalry and enterprise.[1] It has been recorded by local annalists that the ancestors of the Abbasids under the leadership of Sulṭān Aḥmad, a scion of the Abbasid caliph of Egypt,[2] came to Sind by way of Kīch and Makrān, sometimes between 1360 and 1370.[3] This was the time when the Tughluq Sulṭāns were ruling the major parts of the sub-continent. He settled in the Bhāgnagar territory whose ruler, Rā'i Dhorang, eventually gave away a third of his kingdom and a daughter in his marriage.[4] The Abbasids turned to be hard working

1. For a detailed analysis of the ancestral pedigree and related problems of the 'Abbāsīs in Sind and Bahawalpur, see Ghulām Rasūl Mehr, *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, i, (Kalhaura's Rule), 35 ff.
2. Daulat Rām, *Mir'āt-i-Daulāt-i-'Abbāsia*, 24 ff.; Shaikh Muḥammad A'zam, *Jawāhir-i-'Abbāssia*, f. 40 b. There has been a lot of controversy about the name and the date of his arrival in Sind *cf.* Mehr, 61 ff.
3. Daulat Rām, 24; A'ẓam, 40 b. However, local tradition takes the arrival back to the 3rd century Hijra which does not very much seem tenable. Qāne' (iii, 102 ff.) records that the first Abbasi to come to Sind was Udhana, later on, called Mian Udhana because of his spiritual piety which made him popular and influential among the masses.
4. Daulat Rām, 26 ff: A'zam, 40 b. These annalists record fabulous stories about the favour the Hindu chieftain did to the saintly personage. According to them, the chieftain first decided to fight with the intruder and expel him from his territory. But, in the night he dreamt harshly against his decision and was foretold of the spiritual importance of the saintly personage.

and enterprising who gave a real prosperity to their possessions. The progress and influence they achieved thus within a short span of time made the neighbouring chieftains jealous. They waited for an opportunity to conspire against them in order to check their progress and to oust them eventually from their territory. However, the Abbasids overcame these difficulties gradually and extended their influence until the time of Amīr Muḥammad Channe Khān who gave his possessions the status of a regularly governed state.[5] This was the time when Sind was conquered by the Moghul army under 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān Khānān and annexed it with the empire of Akbar. The monarch sent his son, Prince Murād, to streamline the administration of the newly conquered territories. The prince arrived and stayed at Multān to receive several chieftains of surrounding localities who waited on him to show their allegiance to the Moghul empire. Among these was also Channe Khān whose peaceful disposition, insinuating manners and auspicious family background impressed the prince very much. He conferred upon him the *panjṣadī* rank and the title of Jām and appointed him to look after the local administration of the territory lying between Ubura and Lohāri Bander in order to collect revenue for the Moghul government.[6] His headquarter was created at Sīwistān, but he extended his authority gradually as far as Makrān on the west and Nārwār on the east. The impact of the rising power was felt by the neighbouring chieftains who had to seek his friendship for their existence and safety.

The long and eventful rule of Channe Khān has been described as benevolent and just. According to some traditions, he died at the age of 150 years. However, no historian has recorded the date of his death. Thereafter, his younger son, Dā'ūd

5. *Ibid.* The name of this 'Abbāsī chief has been variously mentioned. There is much confusion about his period as well. *cf.* Mehr, 85 ff.

6. Shahāmet 'Alī, 10.

Khān succeeded him as the elder son, Mahdī Khān or Muḥammad Mahdī, did not survive his father. His succession was, however, strongly contested by Kalhoura Khān, son of Muḥammad Mahdī whose claim to the government was also supported by a section of the 'Abbāsī *Khawānīn*. This family feud soon took the shape of a civil war in which Dā'ūd Khān lost the battle and seeing no hope for reconciliation decided to abandon his territory and seek help from Jhāngī Khān. The Wadera received him with due consideration and honour; the old story of hospitality and cooperation was repeated and the immigrant was provided permanent residence in Wadera's territories. With a piece of uncultivated land, Dā'ūd Khān founded a village there and busied himself to agricultural pursuits.[8] In fact, the family had taken by now the shape of a religious oligarchy having a halo of spiritual piety and material fervour, much liked and awed by the common folk.

The family thus lived peacefully and happily prospering until the days of Dā'ūd Khān the second, the great grandson of Dā'ūd Khān the first. The former is said to have been extraordinary handsome and was therefore called Chandan Khān. He is regarded as the spiritual leader and the progenitor of the Abbasis who were later on called Dā'ūdpotras after him. He had many children and traditionally lived to an age of more than two hundred years. After sometimes, Bahādur Khān, a scion of Dā'ūd Khān, decided to shift to Māwa[9] city to join Wadera Dād Khān Abra in order to provide better circumstances and facilities to the much increased number of his followers.

However, while the others were paying extraordinary respect and consideration to the Dā'ūdpotras their own erstwhile brothern, the Kalhauras, were behaving as their deadly enemies. They opposed them tooth and nail in order to destroy them

8. Daulat Rām, 77; A'zam, fol. 65.

9. Shahāmet (13) calls it Māda, the confusion being due to the shape of letters و and د.

completely.[10] The direct skirmishes started during the reign of Yār Muḥammad K͟hān Kalhaura on the issue of the usurpation of some pasture lands,[11] but it gained momentum during the days of the more powerful Nūr Muḥammad K͟hān Kalhaura and several military engagements ensued between the parties. The Dā'ūdpotras were led by Mubārak K͟hān who often succeeded in thwarting the attack. At a stage the dispute was resolved through the intercession of the Lakhe Chief. The Dā'ūdpotras surrendered half of their possessions to Nūr Muḥammad. However, next year, in 1136/1723, the Kalhaura chief again appeared to snatch the remaining half of Dā'ūdpotra state. About this time, Mubārak K͟hān died a natural death and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad Ṣādiq K͟hān. Not finding himself capable of defending his territory, he retired to the fort of K͟hānpur but was vigorously pursued by Nūr Muḥammad and desperate Ṣādiq Muḥammad moved to Bait Debli, now in the district of Dera G͟hāzī K͟hān, thus leaving the whole of his territory to the Kalhauras.

It is noteworthy here that the ineffective rule of the Mog͟hul governors in the areas was unable to check such military exploits of local petty chieftains although they were under their administrative control. In fact, the central government was engrossed with its problems and had no time to attend to the administration of the far-off located provinces of their empire. The local influence, therefore, had to take over the task of the maintenance of law and order. At Uchchh the responsibility was assumed by the Makhdūms besides their spiritual duties as the *Sajjāda nas͟hīns* of the Būk͟hāri and Gīlāni saints. In fact, they had established a kind of religio-political oligarchy with elaborate paraphernalia for asserting their political authority.

However, the Dā'ūdpotras were destined to play their role

10. For a detailed analysis of the causes and consequences of the conflict which resulted into military combat, see Mehr, ii, 258 ff; S͟hehāmet 'Alī, 14 ff.

11. *Ibid* 265 ff. No date of this engagement has been recorded.

in the political events of their times and after a short set-back, they again rose to prominence. Sometimes, in 1140/1727, Shaikh 'Abd al-Qādīr al-Khāmis, then head of the Uchchh oligarchy and also preceptor of Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān showed concern over his plight and invited him to reside at Uchchh. Meanwhile, the celebrated Makhdūm also approached Ḥayāt-allah Shāhnawāz Khān, then governor of Multān[12], to help Ṣādiq Muḥammad to regain his lost possessions. The governor conceded to the request and bestowed the *'ilāqa* of Chouduri on the Dā'ūdpotra chief. This occurred in 1141/1728 and a few years latter, in 1145/1732, he was awarded Shahr-i-Farīd in his *jāgīr*.

Once again the enterprising 'Abbasīs exerted their power and resources to improve upon the conditions of their possessions. They gave tremendous boost to agriculture by putting whatever area was in their possession under plough and thus turning it into a green land. They also founded a town and named it Allahabād. A few years latter, in 1146/1733, they wrested the fort ot Derāwar from the chief of Jesalmer and extended their influence further.[13]

Shortly afterwards, in 1152/1739, Nādir Shāh invaded the Derājāt in connection with his Indian expeditions. The invading monarch annexed the areas to his fast growing kingdom. He also settled disputes among the local chieftains especially among the Dā'ūdpotrās and Kalhauras. A new proclamation was issued and, according to it, the territories of Shikārpur, Lārkāna, Sīwistān, and Kachchi as far as the town of Choter were awarded to the Da'ūdpotra[14] Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān who had met Nādir

12. For his antecedents and other details, see Aḥmad Nabī Khān, *History of Saddozais of Multān*, 5 ff.

13. Shehāmet 'Alī, 21 ff.

14. *Ibid* 25. However, Muḥammad Dīn in his *Bahāwalpur State Gazetteer* (53 ff.) assigns Shikārpur, *pargana* Lārkana, Siwistān, Chhatar together with the *ilāqas* of Chouduri, Derāwar etc. He further clarifies that Shikārpur was again snatched by the Kalhauras after Nawwāb Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān's death. They also held both (contd.)

Shāh at Derā Ghāzi Khān, was granted the title of Nawwāb and was directed to proceed immediately to his new possessions to organise their administration. Fortune favoured him beyond expectation; the number of the Dā'ūdpotrās increased enormously and they spread over these as well as the neighbouring areas, founding village after village and town after town. They deputed an agent, Shaikh Ṣādiq, to the Iranian court to watch their interest.

However, the era of peace and tranquillity thus provided disturbed once again and Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān had to face onslaughts both from within and without. While the murder of Shaikh Ṣādiq at the hands of Nawwāb Muḥammad Ṣādiq's men invoked Nādir Shāh's wrath to send Tehmāsp Khān to punish the Nawwāb, the malignant Nūr Muḥammad Kalhaura added feul to fire by helplng the Persian general against his compatriot so as to regain the possession of Shikārpur. The fierce and fatal war that ensued caused the 'Abbāsīs heavily who lost many of their possessions alongwith their kith and kin. During the bloody encounter, Muḥammad Ṣādiq Khān received a fatal wound and died almost instantaneously. The desperate 'Abbāsi Khawānīn raised at once his son, Bahāwal Khān, to their leadership and went out to have a final round with Nādir Shāhī general. It was a matter of life and death for them who fought desperately and eventually put the invaders to flight.[15]

Bahāwal Khān then moved to Chouduri to consolidate his position. He left no stone unturned to ameliorate the condition of his country and devoted his time and energy to further improvements. By dint of hard work and appropriate manoeuvring, he soon established himself as a power to be reckoned with

Johra (re-named Ṣādiqābād afterwards) Khairpur, Tanwīnwāla, and Shahr-i-Farīd with its dependencies. Thus, Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān held the country between both Jhora and Shahr-i-Farīd, including Uchchh, of course, a tract about 200 miles in length.

15. For causes and consequences of these wars, see Shehāmet 'Ali, 26 ff.

in the area. His relations and military assistance to Kaura Mal, then governor of Multān, in his various campaigns earned him favour and prestige and got Ādam Wāhan *ta'alluqa* in his jāgīr. The Nawwāb took every measure to improve the condition of his new *ta'alluqa* and dug a canal through it for irrigation.[16]

Bahāwal Khān died of rheumatism on 7 Rajab 1163/24 June 1750, and his younger brother Mubārak Khān succeeded him with unanimous approval of the 'Abbasī Khawānīn.[17] His reign is marked with conquests and expansions. Soon after his accession he wrested the fortress of Marot and affected conquests north and west of the Sutlej and Punjnad. Besides, other Dā'ūdpotra chiefs were also engaged in conquests and colonization.[18] Indeed, the latter regulated shape of the Bahāwalpur state is due to these activities when alongside the conquests several new towns were founded and fortifications were erected.

A few years earlier, in 1160/1747, the Nādir Shāhi kingdom was taken over by Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī. It has been assumed by some historians that the Durrānī monarch was born in Multān.[19] Almost immediately after his accession, he planned to renew military excursions to the sub-continent. However, Dā'ūdpotros were not disturbed until 1166/1751 on the instigation of 'Alī Muḥammad Khān of Derājāt, Aḥmad Shāh sent Sardār Jahān Khān to check the 'Abbāsī power. The Durrānī general first arrived at Dera and stayed with 'Alī Muḥammad for preparation and from there moved to Uchchh, then looked after by the Makhdūms. However, the Afghān expedition was unable to gain anything as they were defeated by the Dā'ūd-

16. *Ibid*, 37.
17. Aḥmad Dīn, *State Gazeteer of Bahawalpur*, 54.
18. *Ibid*.
19. *Cf*. Ḥusainī, 11, However, certain writers do not agree with this assertion and insist on Herāt as his birth place. See, for instance, Ghubār, 35, ff.

potra chief and Jahān Khān left for Khurāsān almost discomfited.

Mubārak Khān was now in a position to play important role of mediation and friendship with the neighbouring chieftains. He fought battles for them and gave protection to those who came to him for it. The era was also marked by friendship with the Kalhauras when Mubārak Khān forgetting the past enmity, helped Ghulām Shāh in an extraordinary manner. While the latter was desperately in search of some shelter to attempt to regain his throne, Mubārak Khān invited him to Bahāwalpur and kept him for three months from where he made necessary preparation.[20] He also encouraged other Dā'ūdpotra Khawānīn to establish themselves in the neighbouring areas and improve upon their condition. It was also during the reign of this Nawwāb that, in 1180/1766, the Sikhs entered the trans-Sutlej territories of the Dā'ūdpotra chief for the first time under the command of Jhanda Singh, Ganda Singh and Hari Singh. A fierce fighting ensued to the detriment of both sides, but ended on the conclusion of a treaty in which Pākpatan was made the boundary line between the territories of the Dā'ūdpotras and the Sikh confederacy.[21] However, the treaty was soon set aside and, in 1185/1771, the Sikhs again entered the territory to plunder the area. Mubārak Khān directed Ja'far Khān, his nephew and heir apparent, to expel the Sikh marauders. A severe battle ensued in which Sikh commander Majja Singh was killed and the rest of the army fled from the battlefield.[22]

The Nawwāb breathed his last on 3 Rabī' al-Awwal 1186/4 June 1772, after ruling for 24 years and giving prosperity, prestige and real sovereignty to his state. Next day, Ja'far Khān was declared his successor with the title of Bahāwal Khān II. Like his predecessor, Bahāwal Khān extended and strengthened

20. A'zam, 162 ff; Qāne', iii, 113; Shahāmet 'Alī, 52; J. D. Cunningham, 113 ff.

21. Shahāmet 'Ali, 52.

22. *Ibid.*

his territory by annexing the neighbouring areas and erecting fortifications.

The chief event of his reign, however, was the downfall of the religious oligarchy at Uchchh and its annaxation to the Bahāwalpur State. It has been related elsewhere that Uchchh was under the administrative control of the Makhdūms who were always on friendly terms with Dā'ūdpotras. However, the last Makhdūm, Ḥāmid Ganj Bakhsh on the instigation of Sarfarāz Kalhaura became rebellious and conspired against Bahāwal Khān[23]. Shahāmet 'Alī summarizes details of the events from *Jawāhir-i-'Abbāsia*:

> "Surfaraz Khan Khaloora, the chief of Sindh, one of the bitterest enemies of the late Mobarik Khan, now left his capital, apparently on a trip of pleasure to the Dereh jats, but really to have a meeting with Bahawal Khan, with a view to have a better insight into his affairs, in order that he might be enabled to cause a disturbance in the Bahawalpur state. On his way he was met by Mukdoom Sahib Sheikh Hamed of Uch, with whom he had a private interview, in which he disclosed his design. The Mukdoom undertook to accomplish this object on the payment of two lakhs of rupees, namely, one lakh for the purpose of building a fortification round Uch, and the other lakh as a contribution for his services. When matters were thus arranged, the Mukdoom employed himself in effecting a meeting between Bahawal Khan and Surfaraz Khan, which was soon arranged through the agency of Vakeels. This meeting accordingly took place between the two potentates, and during it much friendly conversation passed between them. In the course of this conversation, verse escaped the Sindh Chief while looking at the face of Bahawal Khan. It is this:—"Where is the limit to the beauty of which I yet only see the beginning." At the same time, Surfaraz had

23. For details, see A'zam, 215 ff.

a private conference with the Mukdoom, in which they consented to foment a disturbance among the nobles of Bahwal Khan. With this view, they treated Ikhtyar Khan and Noor Mohammad Marufanee, the prime ministers, as well as some other chiefs, in a very conciliating manner. Besides this, several of them were soon after assembled by the Mukdoom in a mosque at Uch, where he spoke largely of his own religious character, and delivered a long harangue on the liberality of the Sindh chief. The Koran was then produced, and he called on those present to take an oath of attachment to the chief. Among the rest, Noor Mohammad bound himself by a solemn oath to follow the advice of the religious leader. Bahawal Khan was not ignorant of the disloyalty of his people and the machinations of his enemies, but he deemed it the best course to take no notice of it; however, he deputed Molwee Hafeezul Islam to Mecca to pray for the prosparity of his affairs."[24]

Although Sarfarāz K͟hān could not achieve his designs as he himself was to face difficulties at home and was ultimately dethroned and imprisoned through a conspiracy,[25] the Mak͟hdūm continued hostile attitude towards the Nawwāb. He allied himself with the Mundhani and Ma'rūfānī chiefs and made determined efforts to disturb peace and tranquillity of the Dā'ūdpotra State. At his instigation, the *'Iāqa* of Aḥmadpur East was plundered by the decoits. These activities compelled the Nawwāb to deal with the trouble makers effectively and with the assent of his relations, Bahāwal K͟hān proceeded to Uchchh to arrest the Mak͟hdūm. This occurred in 1212/1797.[26] The Mak͟hdūm came out to face the Dā'ūdpotras. The combat that ensued ended in favour of Bahāwal K͟hān and Mak͟hdūm Ḥāmīd

24. S͟hahāmet 'Alī, 59 ff.
25. 'Azīm al-Dīn Thathavi, *Fateḥnāma*, 14 ff.
26. Muḥammad Dīn, *Gazetteer*, 259.

Ganj Bakhsh IV fled to Garhī Ikhtiyār Khān. From there, he implored Rāja Sūrat Singh of Bikāner, Nawwāb Muzaffar Khān of Multān and Zamām Shāh of Kābul for help. But, these overtures could bear no fruits; after sometimes, the Nawwāb succeeded in arresting the Makhdūm and confined him in his his own Dīwān Khānā. The Makhdūm, however, managed his escape soon and took refuge in the fort of Rām Kalī, midway between Uchchh and Goth channi, and started depredations into the neighbourhood of Aḥmadpur East.[27]

In 1219/1804, Shujā' al-Mulk Durrānī visited the Derājat and the Makhdūm once again waited on him at Rājapur to complain against the Nawwāb urging the visiting monarch for the restoration of Uchchh. Shuja' al-Mulk deputed Aḥmad Khān Nurzai for the purpose. However, the overture remained fruitless as the Afghān general left for Kābul without accomplishing the job. Dismayed and discomfited Makhdūm died at Ghotki after about two years in 1221/1806.[28]

Thus ended the Makhādīm's rule on Uchchh who held the sway for a considerably long time as a protege of the Durranis. Not much is known about the kind of administrative control they exercised, yet it must be conceded that it was not much different to what was going on in the neighbouring states. During their supremacy, Uchchh must have enjoyed peace and prosperity as a centre of religio-political oligarchy, specially because their influence was paramount and they were considered a power to be reckoned with by neighbouring chiefs. The obvious opulence and resourcefulness had also provided them opportunity to enjoy life both materially as well as spiritually. They erected new buildings, both religious as well as secular, and got the older ones repaired and renovated. The last of Makhdūms is credited to provide a fortification to the city of Uchchh Gīlānī indeed.

27. *Ibid.*

28. Mas'ūd Shahāb, *Khiṭṭa-e-Pāk Uch*, 163; c.f. Ḥifz al-Raḥmān, *Tārīkh-i-Uchchh*, 128. He also cites an interesting Persian couplet composed and often recited in utter despir by the Makhdūm.

After the occupation, the Nawwāb demolished the newly built fortification, of which a gateway called Elephant Gate is still standing. The palaces and houses of Makhdūm and his adherents suffered from neglect and carelessness and fell to ground one by one. There was none to occupy them. Many people migrated to other places. It appears that the Nawwābs of Bahāwalpur purposely paid no attention towards the improvement of the city and the well being of its habitants. After sometimes, it turned into a small and insignificant town marked by dilapidated secular and religious buildings. In 1232/1816[29], Makhdūm Shaikh Ḥāmid Ganj Bakhsh Khāmis, the grandson of the rebel Mkhdūm returned to Uchchh to settle there with the permission of the Nawwāb. He could not revive its past glory except that he was able to manage the affairs of the tombs of his forefathers. Natural calamities also played their role in the destruction of the city. In 1233/1817, unprecedented floods caused irreparable loss to its people and property. Although it is impossible to estimate the loss now its magnitude could be judged by the fact that about half of the mound representing the ancient fort and the half chunk of the magnificent tombs of Bahā' al-Ḥalīm, Bībī Jawindī and Ustād Lādla standing on it was washed away by the floods!

The forlorn and deserted city is still existing as an embodiment of awe and gloom, typical of the medieval period's small towns of Sind and southern Punjāb. People still live there and devotees still visit it to pay homage to the virtuous souls lying buried in magnificent tombs. It has neverthless retained its original divisions and layout; the town is still a combination of three villages i.e. Uchchh Gīlānī, Uchchh Bukhālī, and Uchchh Mughla. While the first two still have respectable population with their reasonably good and impressive buildings, both old

29. No date has been mentioned for this event by any chronicler. This has been arrived at on the basis of details provided by Ḥifz al-Raḥmān, *op. cit.* 128 ff.

and new, the last named has been reduced to a mere village having dilapidated structures of old buildings scattered throughout. The village itself is located on an extensive archaeological mound. The houses are mostly mud construction and almost all belong to modern days. Among these were the abodes of eminent saints like Jamāl al-Dīn Uchchī, Sayyid Ganj-i-'Ilm, Jamāl Durvesh etc. Structural remains of their dwellings are still standing here and there. Among the modest houses, one belongs to Sayyid Ghulām Shabbīr Shāh who possesses two relics of importance: a rosary of forty-one wooden beads, and a large-sized copy of the Qur'ān transcribed in elegant Bahār script. The copy, now incomplete from the beginning and the end, is very fragile (Pl. XII). It measures 18 inches by 12 inches and has 15 lines on each page with the word الله in red.[30] Traditionally, the relics belong to Jamāl al-Dīn Uchchī.

30. For details of the rare relics and collection of Persian and Arabic manuscripts of books on religion, biography, poetry, ethics, history etc., now in possession of the descendents of the Bukhārī and Gilānī saints, *see* Mas'ūd Shahāb, *op. cit.*, 332 ff.

CHAPTER SIX

The Architecture

Although Uchchh Sharīf lost its material glory after the downfall of Nāṣir al-Dīn Qubācha and existed thereafter as a small town of little importance, its fame as a centre of religious piety remained unaltered throughout the period. To-day, the small town is regarded as one of greatest centres of religious excellence in Pākistān. Here came and lived saintly personages like Ṣafī al-Dīn Gāzrūnī, Jamāl al-Dīn Qandhārī, Raẓī al-Dīn Ganj-i-'Ilm, Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Surkh Bukhārī, Makhdūm Jahāniyān Jahāngasht, Shaikh 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī Sānī etc., to preach Islam and the sufic way of life. The Khānqāhs of these religious luminaries were the favourite rendezvous of kings and commoners alike who flocked to them for spiritual solace or to redress their worldly woes. The kings and the elite of the city established for them centres of sufic deliberations or formal religious education. Simultaneously, the city was adorned with mosques, madrasas, tombs, mausolea and other secular buildings including palaces and pavilions of the rulers and the ruled.

It is, however, surprising that not a single tomb of any political personage or ruler exists now in the whole of the celebrated city. Nor indeed do we find traces of the buildings which were once occupied by Khānqāhs, serais and madrasas. The secular buildings also vanished due to lack of care and their constant use for various purposes. However, mosques and tombs still abound in the city and remind us the past spiritual as well as material

glory of this ancient place. It has been almost customary to have a mosque or at least a *muṣallah* attached to almost every significant tomb or mausoleum. The mosques attached to the tombs of Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Surkh Bukhārī, Jahāniyān Jahān Gasht and Sayyid 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī-i-Sānī are remarkable specimens of the art of building and show the resources and refined taste of their patrons as well as the proficiency of the master-artist (Pl. IX a-b).

Stylistically, the religious edifices of Uchchh can be classified of two distinct groups, while the first group is represented by the tombs constructed on square or rectangular plan (Fig. 2) with low flat-roof supported with wood framing and upright columns (Pl. IV-a), the second group is of the domed mausolea erected on octagonal plans (Figs. 3, 5, 7). The tombs of Jalāl al-Dīn Surkh Bukhārī, Abū Ḥanīfa (Pl. II-a), Jahāniyān Jahāngasht, Rājan Qattāl etc. are prominent specimens of the first group, and the mausolea of Bahā' al-Dīn Uchchhī commonly known as Bahā' al-Ḥalīm (Pl. III-a), Bībī Jāwindi (Pl. I-a), Ustād Lādla (Pl. III-b) and Mūsa Pāk Shahīd (Pl. XI-a) belong to the second group.

The Flat-Roofed Tombs

The flat-roofed rectangular or square-shaped brick tombs are fabulous edifices decorated with galzed tiles (Pl. II a-b), tile-mosaics (Pl. V-b), wood carving (Pls. IV-a, IX-c) and lacquer work (Pl. IV a-b). The type is rather more common than that represented by the domed mausolea. It has been assumed that the flat-roofed tombs had an indirect inspiration from the rectangular tomb of Shāh Yūsuf Gardezī situated at Multān. However, the assumption is to be taken rather cautiously. It may be more plausible to argue that the style originated at Uchchh itself where it remained popular for a considerably long time. The exuberance of these specimens at the ancient city provides positive evidence for its popularity, rather preference. The materials used in these constructions were, however, of less permanent nature. The comparatively less thicker walls,

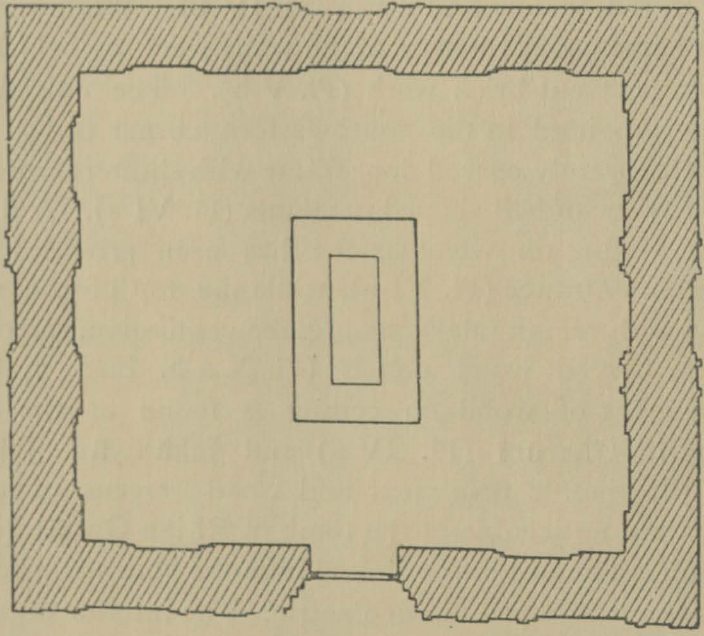
wood framing and flat roof of wood had by nature limited period of strength. Therefore, several of them collapsed while a number of them repaired later on retaining, however, their original features. The brick masonry of these edifices was in mud mortar and the roof rested on wood framing having a series of square or round pillars arranged in two or three or even four rows (Pl. IV a). On this series of pillars were placed rafters and purtins, and the tie-beams rested on posts and brackets. Wood planks and a course of brick-tiles covered and strengthened the roof. The interior of wood structure was elaborately painted or lacquered with floral designs, mainly in red, yellow and white (Pl. IV b). While the exterior and, in some cases, interior of the walls were embellished with tile mosaics or cut brick work (Pl. V b). The entrance door, normally provided in the south-eastern corner of the structure had an elaborately carved door frame with shutters crowned with a double frieze of bell shaped pendants (Pl. VI a). A flat-roofed verandah resting on wood frame has been provided in front of the main entrance (Pl. VI-a), while the top of the walls are provided with rectangular openings for ventilation, screened with intricately carved wood panels (Pl. X a-b. Figs. 7, 8). The best specimens of wood on ceiling is found at the tomb of Ṣafī al-Dīn Gāzrūnī (Pl. IV a) and Jahāniyān Jahāngas͟ht and the tile mosaic revetment and wood screens of the finest execution are noticeable at the tomb of Rājan Qattāl (Pl. VI-a. Figs. 7, 8). The patterns adopted here for both the mediums of faience as well as wood are geometric. The interior of almost all the tombs are filled with numerous graves represented by masony cenotaphs arranged in rows around the grave of the main personage, which is normally placed on a high podium under a wood canopy.

Most of these tombs were restored or re-built during the 19th or early 20th century, most probably on the original plans as recorded on the inscriptions fixed at the tombs (Pl. VI b) The tomb of Abū Ḥanīfa has, however, escaped thorough repair and

is still standing in original shape though in an alarmingly precarious state of decay (Pl. II a). The name of Abū Ḥanīfa, a Qāzī hailing from Uchchh, has been recorded by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa whom the traveller met during his sojourn to Multān.

The Tomb of Abū Ḥanīfa

The tomb is built on a slightly raised mound on a square plan in mud mortar (Fig. 2). The brick-tiles used are over-burnt red, 8 in. × 5 in. × 1 in., cut and dressed according to the requirement. The four walls are slightly battered and the three sides, the East, West and North, have an arched rectangular



Ground Floor Plan

Fig 2. Tomb of Abū Ḥanīfa:

projection to imitate the entrance opening which is provided on the south. The entire exterior surface is faced with continuous friezes and panels of faience and faience mosaics (Pl. II a). The arrangement on the above three sides is identical, having a rectangular projected frame consisting of a broad flat panel running on the side and the top. It is bounded with a border

of cut and dressed brick tiles and, within it, is placed a series of square tiles painted in geometric patterns created with a combination of octagons-in-contact. Within this flat decorative border is yet another arched rectangular panel created in recess and decorated with square glazed tiles. The spandrels are filled with triangular shaped painted glazed tiles having the design similar to those used to fill the adjoining border, while the top is bedecked with a frieze of dentils and merlons executed boldly in glazed bricks and brick-tiles. The whole panel is then crowned with a bold frieze having crenellation. The surface flanking the panel is faced with continuous friezes, and oblong panels, seven in number, crowned with an ornate parapet. The arrangement here is that up to the dado level a series of diapers are created with glazed brick plugs and, above it, run three friezes intervened by flat brick surface. The top and bottom friezes are a

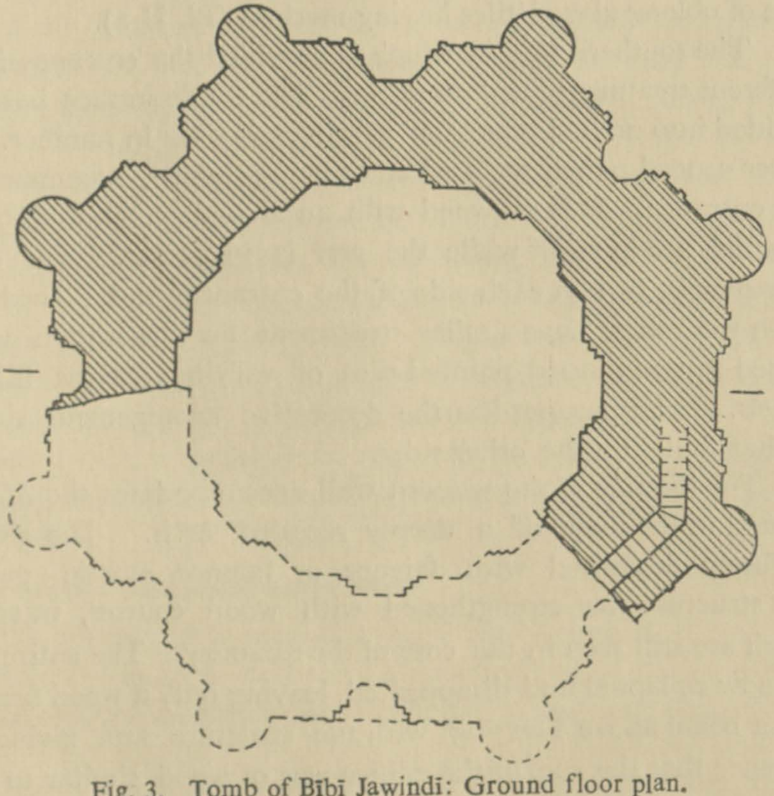


Fig. 3. Tomb of Bībī Jawindī: Ground floor plan.

continuous line of diapers augmented with two triangles placed one upon the other. The frieze in the centre is made of square flat painted and glazed tiles having the usual 'octagon-in-contact' design. Above are two horizontal panels of variant sizes flanking the crenellation of the central frame. They are of faience mosaics. In the centre of these panels are square openings for ventilation filled with glazed terracotta screens. Above this frieze is yet another composite frieze consisting of three continuous lines, the top and bottom having a beaded border while the central one is decorated with octagons-in-contact in half. Further, above and below the parapet is a continuous line of diaper created in recess. The parapet is faced with square glazed tiles having a whisk suspended with an elaborately designed string and bounded with a row of segmented beads, all created in bold relief. Over this series of tiles is yet another line of oblong glazed tiles having merlons (Pl. II a).

The southern side in which is provided the entrance has a different treatment for decoration. The whole surface has been divided into arched panels of varying sizes, six in number. The lower central panel, recessed and oblong-shaped, accommodates the entrance. It is crowned with an arched panel, the borders of which are in relief while the rest is in recess. The other four panels, two on each side of the entrance and placed one upon the other, have similar treatment for decoration where glazed square-shaped painted tiles of varying designs fill the panels. The parapet has the decorative arrangement similar to that found on the other sides.

The interior of the western wall accommodates the *Meḥrāb* created in the shape of a deeply recessed arch. The side is profusely decorated with faience or faience mosaic panels. The structure was strengthened with wood courses, traces of which are still seen in the core of the masonry. The entire roof has now collapsed and disappeared, leaving only a wood bracket and a beam above hanging with the structure and giving an evidence that the roof of the edifice was of wood, similar to that

of the other tombs of the series (Pl. VII-b).

The interior has a square brick platform on which is placed the cenotaph of the principal grave. Some more brick cenotaphs plastered in mud exist around it and indicate the latter burials. No inscription exists on these cenotaphs to record the names of the personages lying buried here.

The Domed Msusolea

Amidst the exuberance of flat-roofed tombs at Uchchh S̲h̲arīf a galaxy of five domed-mausolea presents a definite but very welcome contrast in the architectural accomplishment of local architect-mason. The much dilapidated complex of three such domed mausolea is situated on the south-western fringe of a very high mound representing the cultural debris of some ancient fortress, now occupied by a vast graveyard. The complex is very important for the study of the early Muslim architecture of Pākistān both from the points of view of architecture as well as the architectural adornment. The earliest of the three msusolea is that of Bahā' al-Dīn Uchchhī, commonly known as Bahā' al-Ḥalīm (Pl. III a; Figs. 3, 6). Not much is known of the personage except that he was the teacher of the great Jahāniyān Jahān Gas̲h̲t and that according to the common belief, his tomb was erected by his illustrious pupil. Similarly, the adjoining mausoleum of the pious lady, Bībī Jawindī, a great grand daughter of Jahāniyān Jahāngas̲h̲t, is said to have been constructed in 900/1494 at the instance of a certain ruler or prince of K̲h̲urasān whose name has come down to us as Muḥammad Dils̲h̲ād (Pl. II). The architect-mason responsible for the construction of the mausoleum is also lying buried in the nearby third tomb of the series (Pl. III b).

Antecedents and Characteristics

It is interesting to note that the domed mausolea at Uchchh have followed in form and spirit characteristics of the so called Multān style of architecture, a style introduced and disseminat-

ed in these areas through our constant relations and contacts with Central Asia started with the influx of the Ghaznavides in the sub-continent. Later, the Seljuq influences were brought in by immigrants who came here in the wake of Mongol invasions. It has been related that Uchchh and Multān being the border-land metropolises were the first and foremost to receive the impact. However, the traffic was not one way; during the more peaceful days, people from these centres travelled frequently to the foreign lands especially the religious and cultural centres like Baghdād, Mecca, Madīna, Tāshqand, Bukhāra, Merve, Samarqand, Khurāsān, Azarbā'ījān etc. to seek knowledge or transact business. These to and fro movements resulted into the creation of an entirely new concept in the art of building representing the so-called Multān style of architecture.

The earliest specimen of this style was, according to the present state of our knowledge, erected at a place called Belā in Balūchistān. The simple square building is a tomb of some un-known personality attributed to Muḥammad b. Hārūn, an Arab general in the army of Muḥammad b. Qāsim. However, no epigraphic or literary evidence is available to certify the attribution. Stylistically, the construction seems to be of a latter date, having the influence of Seljuq architecture brought over here through Mongol invasions. It has a low dome based on an octagonal zone of transition created by simple pendentives raised from the plinth level. In the middle, at the haunch stage, the courses of bricks are reduced to one only and the resultant gap is filled with a course of tiles placed flat and then the whole is lime plastered in order to create a definite curvature of the dome.

The technique so adopted is further perfected in the dome which crowns the tomb of a certain saint locally called Shāh Gardez. It is located in the small village of Ādam Wāhan in Bahāwalpur. This important structure has been constructed in mud-bricks faced, both externally as well as

internally, with burnt bricks. Placed on an eight feet high podium, it is square on plan and has been devised in three stages or stories. The zone of transition has been created with the help of regular squinches on which is placed the high drum and, above it, a hemispherical dome. No glazed tile has been used at the tomb to decorate the surface. Though dilapidated, the edifice is important for the study of the style.

It was most probably after this initial experimentation that the tomb of Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariya at Multān was designed in 1262. The tomb though damaged in 1848 and repaired immediately thereafter, has essential elements of the foregoing edifice including square plan, slightly battered walls, a narrow circumambulation gallery, a drum and then a hemispherical dome, crowned with an elaborate finial. As usual with the edifices of the type, the zone of transition has been created with the help of corner squinches converting the square storey into an octagon. The low stalactites created in the arch-squinches and the lime plaster on the interior as well as exterior surface is of latter date as the surface, especially the exterior, was originally meant to be kept naked. The collar of the dome has been embellished with a frieze of blind merlons, reveted with glazed tiles in high relief, while the screened arched-opening on the east has a panel running on the sides and on the top. It has a composite pattern created with interwoven meanders, in bold relief. That the tomb has lost very little of its original features is evident from the tomb of S͟hāhid S͟hahīd at Multān which has luckily escaped renovation.

After the passage of a little over half a century sometimes between 1320 and 1325 the master-architect was again called upon to design 'one of the most splendid memorials ever erected in the honour of the dead' at Multān. It was the grand mausoleum of S͟haik͟h Rukn al-Dīn Rukn-i-'Ālam, the grandson of S͟haik͟h al-Kabīr S͟haik͟h Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariya, and the most renowned saint of the Suhrawardiya *silsila* after Bahā' al-Ḥaq. The mausoleum eventually turned to be the embodiment of all

the virtues and characteristics devied and developed so far in the art of building both in the sub-continent as well as in Central Asia. In essence, it is a majestic edifice un-folding the zenith of naked brick architecture embellished with faience and faience mosaic, cut and moulded brick-work, wood work etc. The mausoleum has been erected in three stages or storeys of octagonal plan. Indeed, it has been regarded as the first ever epoch making attempt of adapting the difficult plan strengthened and augmented with bold and pronounced corner-turrets rising up and crowned with cupolas. Similarly, the wood courses and wood framing imbedded in the core of masonry has been attempted for the first time so boldly and profusely. The lower storey including the corner turrets as harmoniously planned in pronounced slope, on which is placed the second storey possessing a narrow but spacious circumambulation gallery. The grand hemispherical dome crowned with an elaborate finnial completes the harmonious whole. Internally, the grand masterpiece presents a feast of architectural ornamentation created in cut or moulded brick, both glazed and unglazed, and in wood. The Mehrāb created in the western wall is a sumptuous piece of the art of wood carving. In short, no effort in term of money as well as artistic proficiency is spared to create this marvel of Multān style of architecture.

The mausolea of Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariya and Rukn-i-'Ālam served as perfect models for the future architect who continued copying or adapting them for well over six hundred years. The popularity of the style did not diminish even with the introduction and popularity of the more refined and gorgeous Moghul style of architecture. We do not know how many tombs and mausolea were erected in this style, as many of them must have collapsed and disappeared with the passage of time. However, more than two dozens of them are still standing on the soil of Pākistān to show how vigorously the style inspired the latter architects and masons. Among these, the most conspicuous specimens may be counted as the tomb of Shāms Sabzwārī,

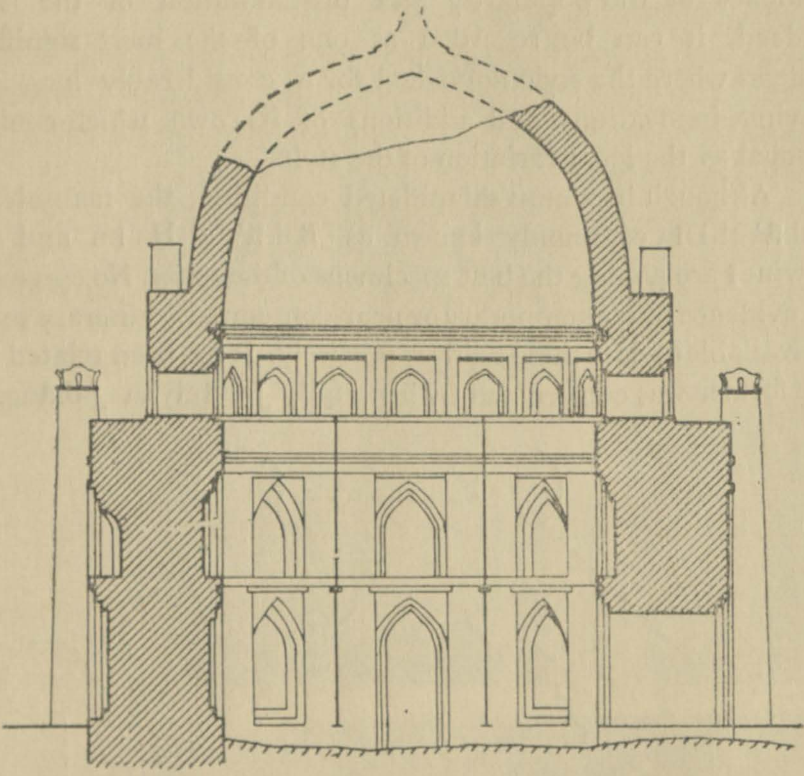


Fig. 4. Tomb of Bibi Jawindi: Cross Section

Multān (730/1330), tomb of Shaikh 'Alā'al-Dīn, Pākpatan (737/1336), tomb of Bahā' al-Ḥalīm, Uchchh (c. 772/1370), an unknown tomb at Depālpur 889/1484), tomb of Bībī Jawindī, Uchchh, (900/1494), tomb of Ghāzī Khān, Dera Ghāzī Khān (c. 900/1494), tomb of Ṭāhir Khān Nāhar, Sītpur (937/1530), tomb of Sulṭān 'Alī Akbar, Multān (992/1885), tomb of Mūsa Gīlānī, Qabūla (933/1586), tomb of Mūsa Pāk Shahīd, Uchchh (1001/1592), tomb of 'Abd al-Wahāb, Dā'īrā Dīn Panāh (1011/1602), tomb of Sayyid Yaḥyā, Multān (1028/1618), three unknown tombs at Derā Ismā'īl Khān (c. 15-16 cent.), tomb of Pir Ghulām Ḥaider Shāh, Jalālpur (1340/1921) etc.

Specimens at Uchchh

The specimens at Uchchh do provide an un-mistakable

evidence of the popularity and dissemination of the style. Indeed, it can be regarded as one of the most significant centres where the style flourished for a considerably long time having innovations and additions of its own which could be termed as the local variation of the style.

Although in a most dilapidated condition, the mausolea of Bahā' al-Dīn commonly known as Bahā' al-Ḥalīm and Bībī Jawindī are among the best specimens of the series. No epigraphical evidence or contemporary or near-contemparary literary source is available to date these edifices precisely. It has been related that the former was constructed by his pupil, Jahāniyān Jahānga<u>sh</u>t

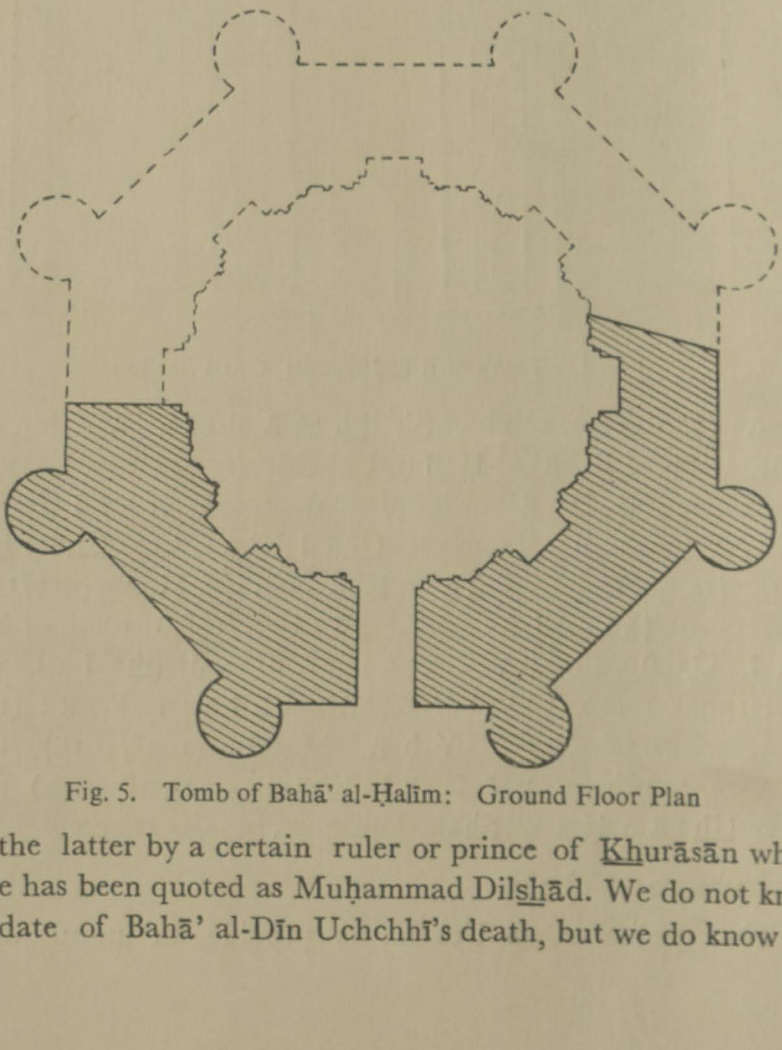


Fig. 5. Tomb of Bahā' al-Ḥalīm: Ground Floor Plan

and the latter by a certain ruler or prince of <u>Kh</u>urāsān whose name has been quoted as Muḥammad Dil<u>sh</u>ād. We do not know the date of Bahā' al-Dīn Uchchhī's death, but we do know the

evidence of the popularity and dissemination of the style. Indeed, it can be regarded as one of the most significant centres where the style flourished for a considerably long time having innovations and additions of its own which could be termed as the local variation of the style.

Although in a most dilapidated condition, the mausolea of Bahā' al-Dīn commonly known as Bahā' al-Ḥalīm and Bībī Jawindī are among the best specimens of the series. No epigraphical evidence or contemporary or near-contemparary literary source is available to date these edifices precisely. It has been related that the former was constructed by his pupil, Jahāniyān Jahāngasht

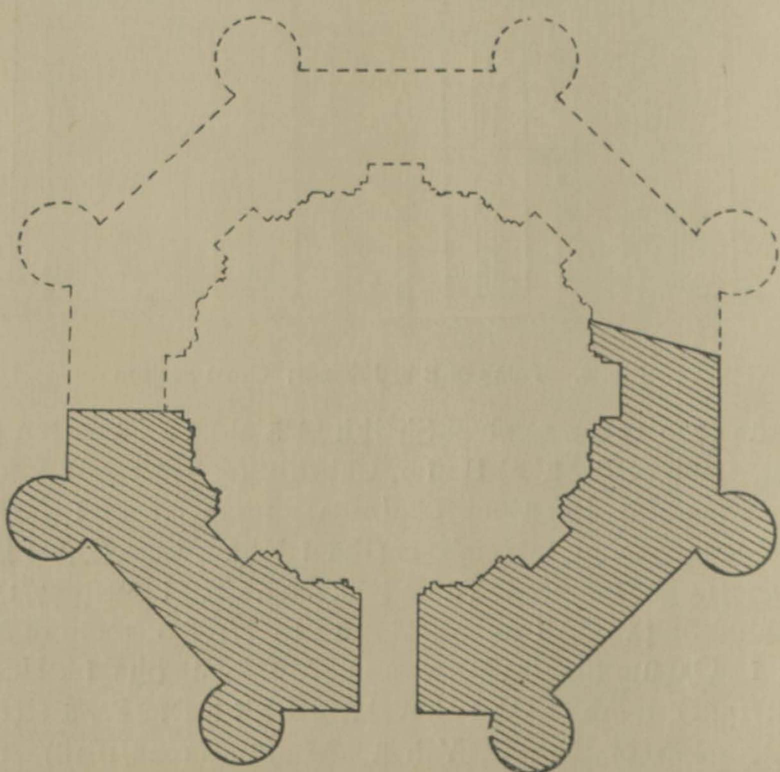


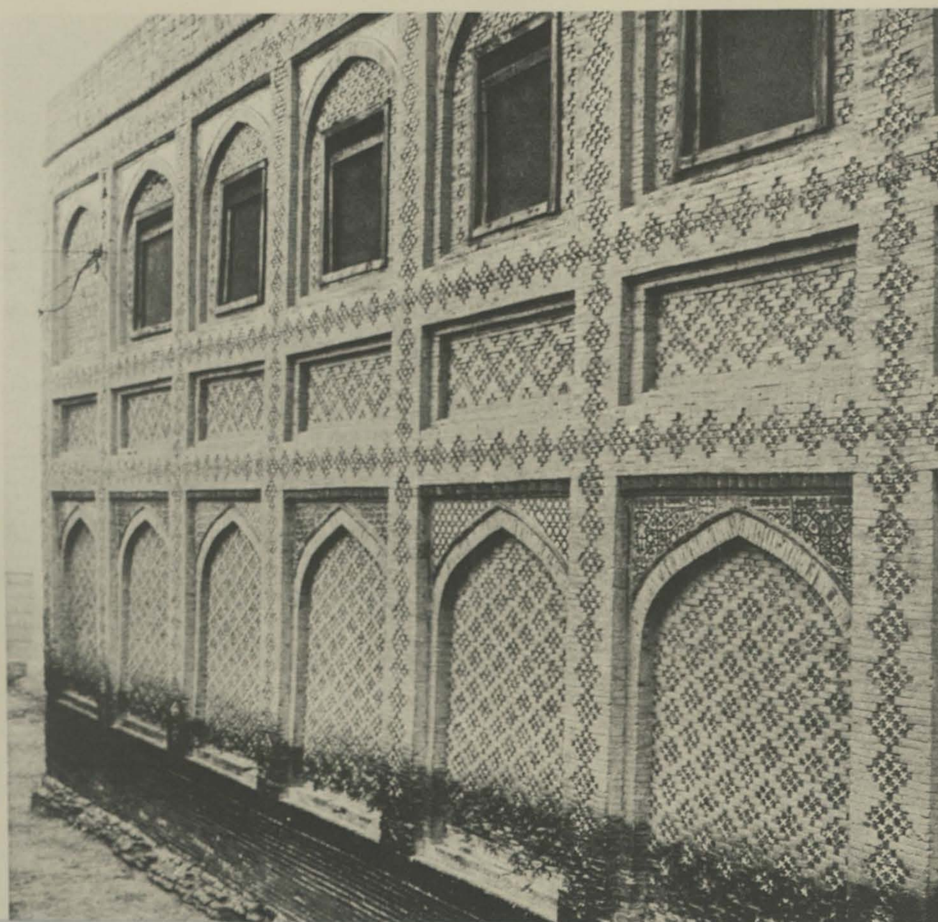
Fig. 5. Tomb of Bahā' al-Ḥalīm: Ground Floor Plan

and the latter by a certain ruler or prince of Khurāsān whose name has been quoted as Muḥammad Dilshād. We do not know the date of Bahā' al-Dīn Uchchhī's death, but we do know the

Plate V



a) Tomb of Baha'al-Halim—
Interior view.

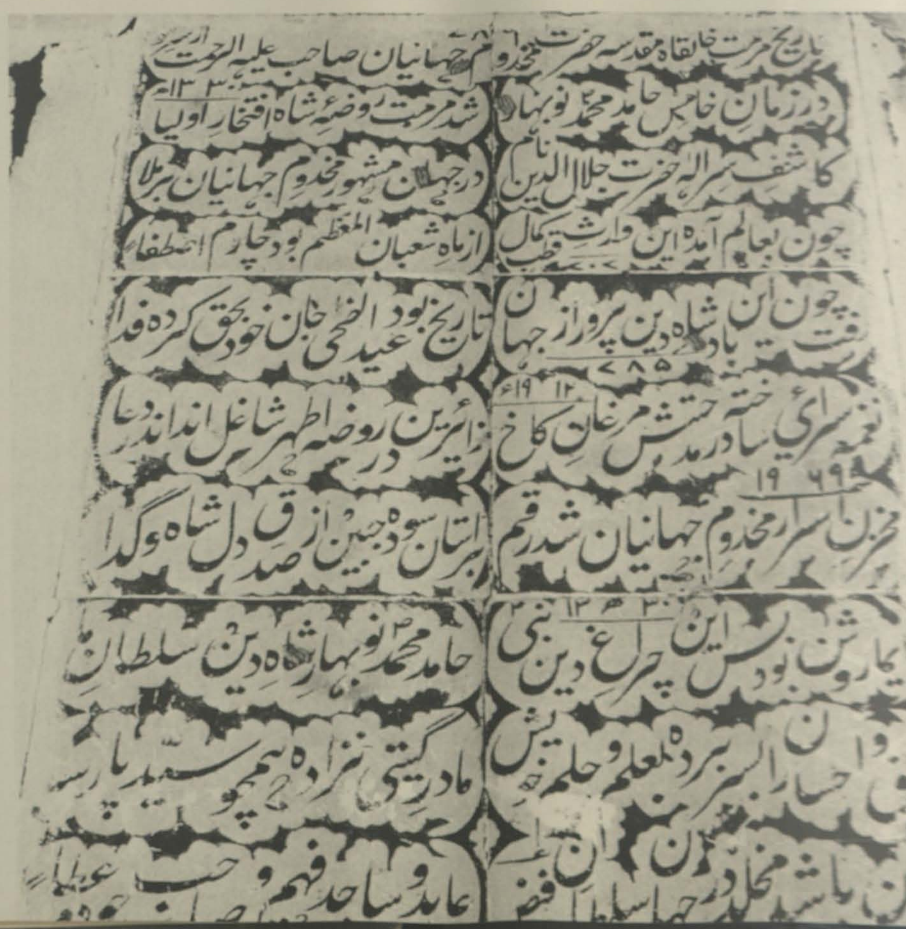


b) Tomb of Rajan Quttal—Faience
mosaic revetment.

Plate VI

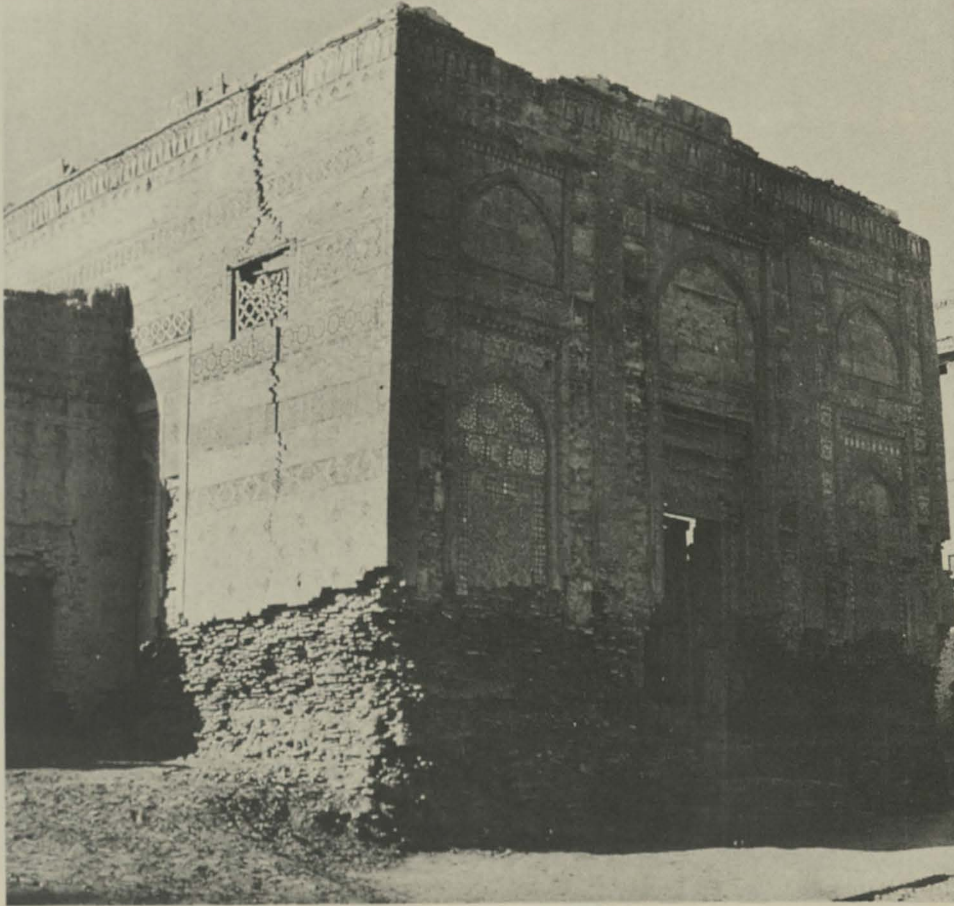


a) Tomb of Rajan Quttal—the entrance.



b) Tomb of Jahaniyan Jahangasht—Faience inscription.

Plate VII



a) Tomb of Abu Hanifa—view from south showing the entrance.



b) Tomb of Abu Hanifa—Wood bracket.

Plate VIII



2-b) Mosque of Jalal al-Din Surkhposh: the Persian inscription.



Plate IX

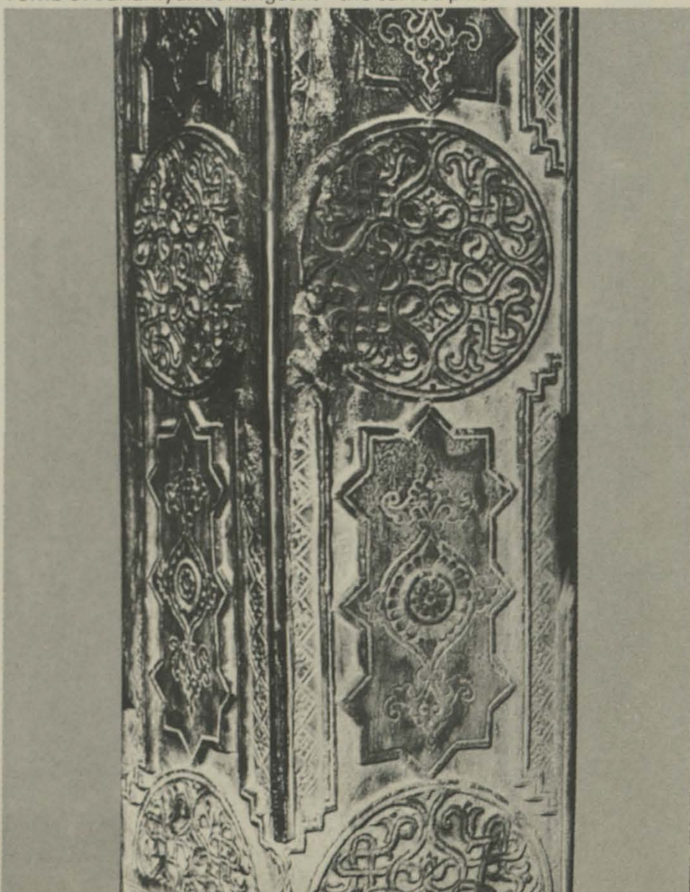


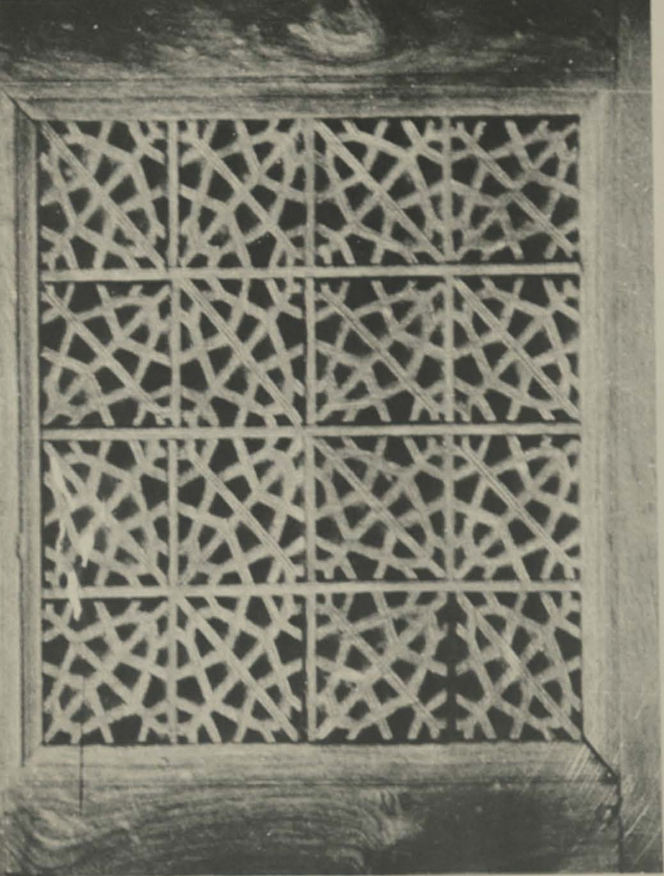
a) Mosque of Jahaniyan Jahangasht: the prayer chamber.

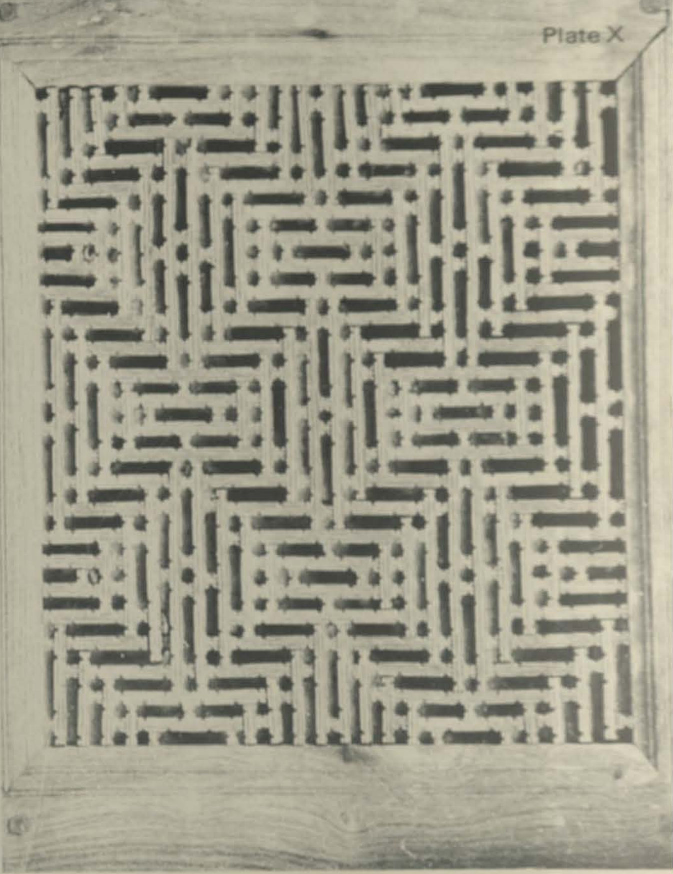
b) Mosque of Jahaniyan Jahangasht: the Mehrab.



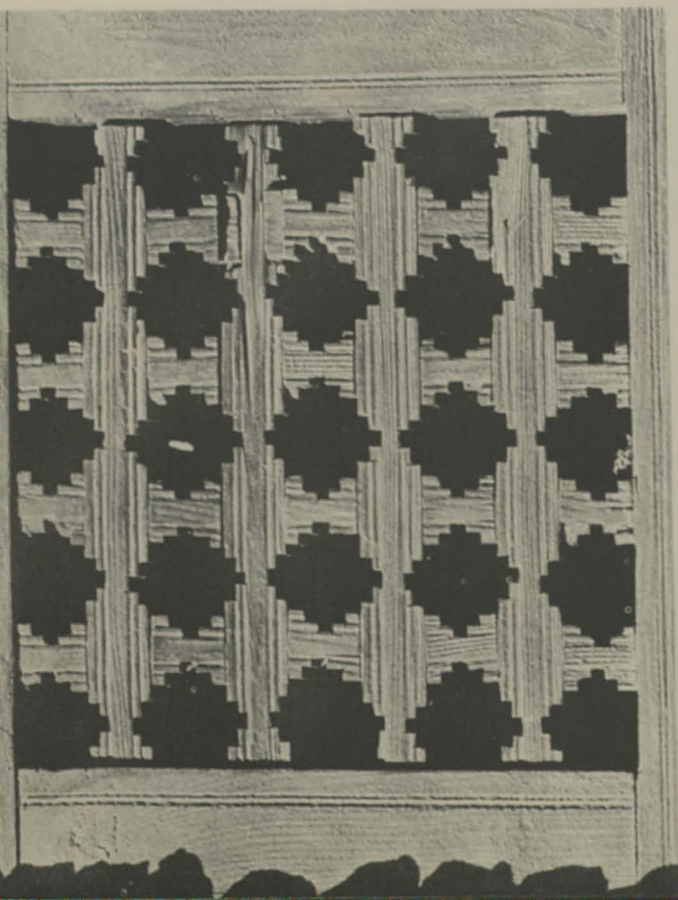
c) Tomb of Jahaniyan Jahangasht—the carved piller.







a-d) Mosque of Jahaniyan Jahangasht—Wood screens.



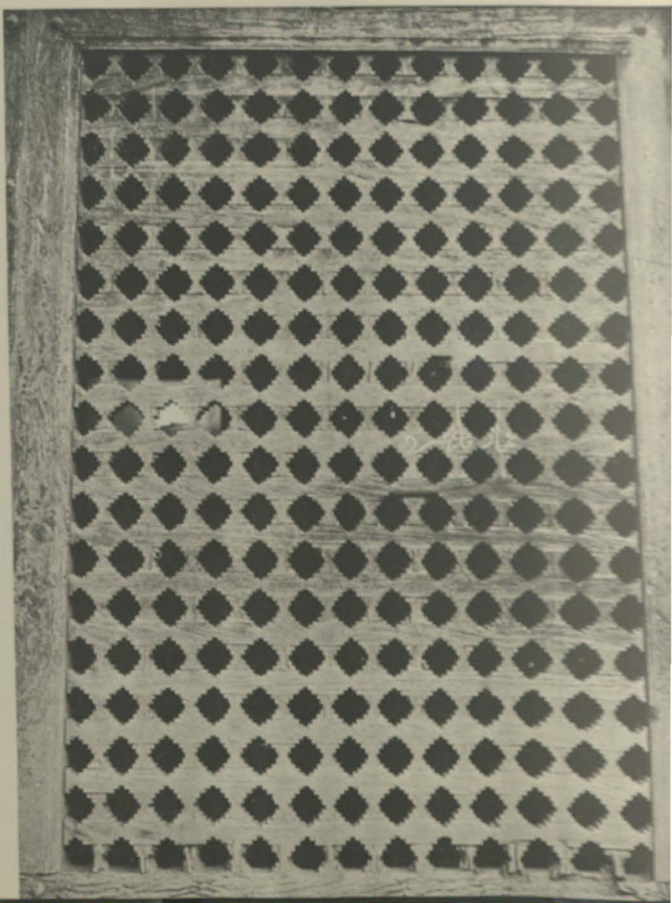
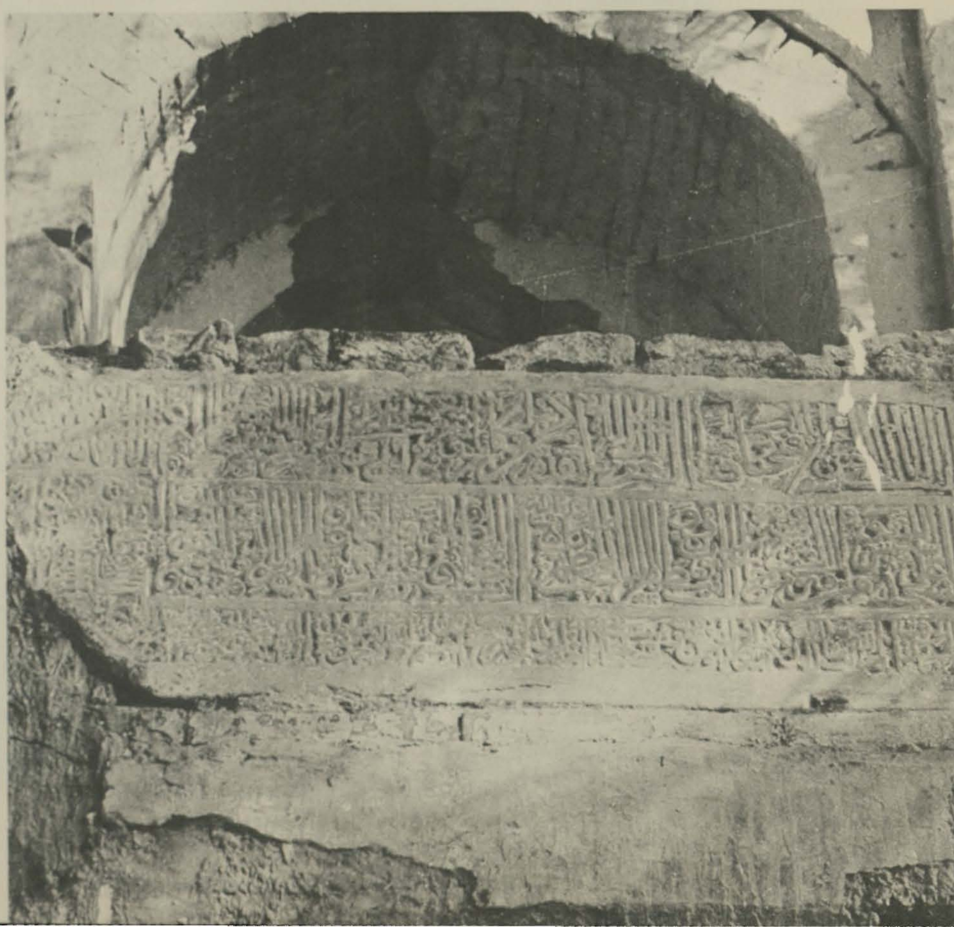


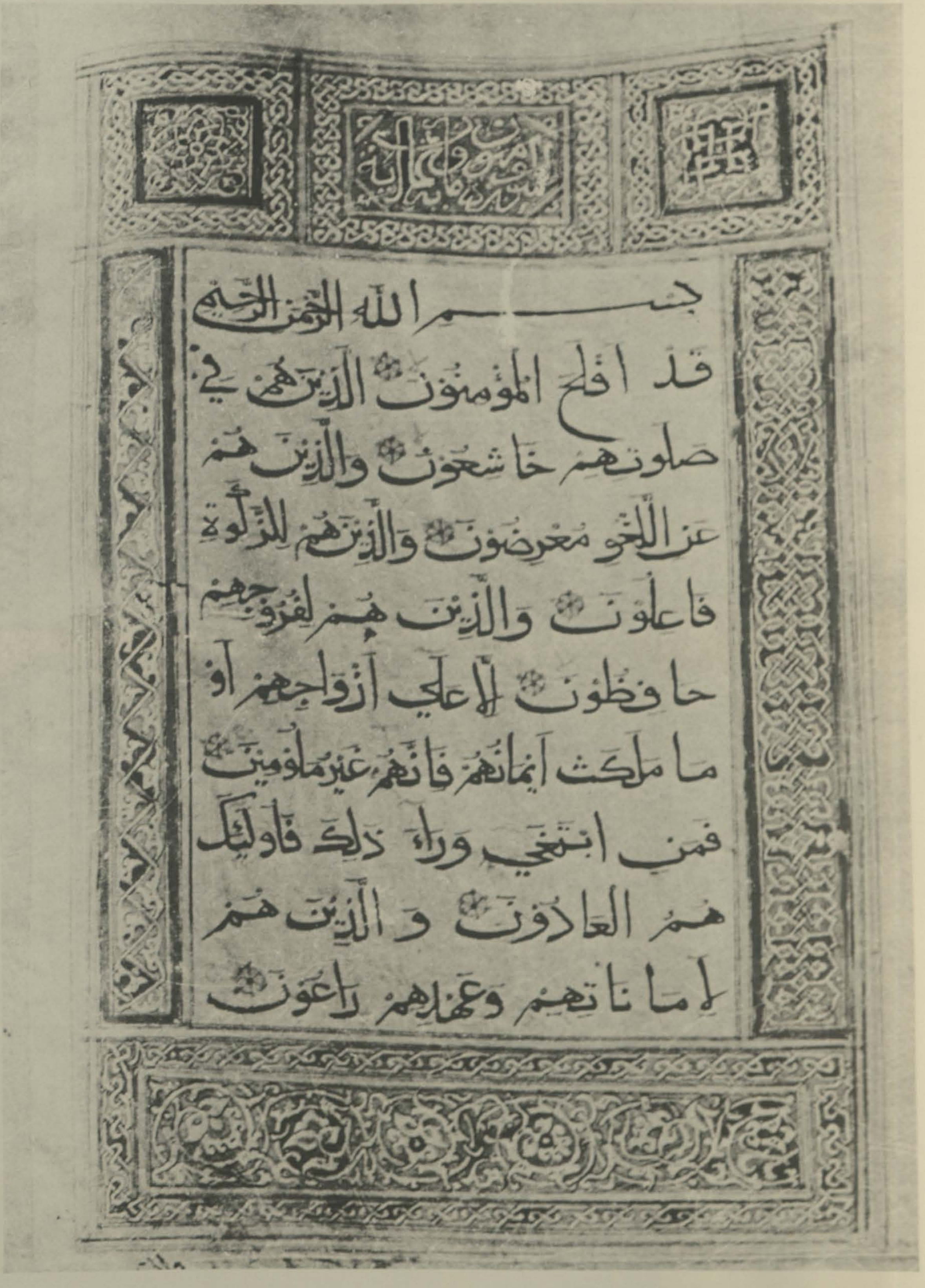
Plate XI



a) Tomb of Musa Pak Shahid: General view.



b) Tomb of Musa Pak Shahid: the Inscription *in situ*.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
قد افلح المومنون الذين هم في
صلوتهم خاشعون والذين هم
عن اللغو معرضون والذين هم للزكوة
فاعلون والذين هم لفروجهم
حافظون الا على ازواجهم او
ما ملكت ايمانهم فانهم غير ملومين
فمن ابتغى وراء ذلك فاولئك
هم العادون والذين هم
لامانتهم وعهدهم راعون

A page from the Qur'an transcribed in Khatt-i-Behar.

period of his celebrated pupil who was born in 707/1307 and died in 785/1383. It may be assumed that the saint caused the construction of his preceptor's tomb at a period when he could afford it and that at the time when he was staying at Uchchh. It might be surmised that it occurred during his advanced age, sometimes between 750 and 780. (Pl. III-a; Figs. 5-7) Similarly, the tomb of Bībī Jawīndī, the pious grand daughter of the saint, has been attributed to 900/1494. The third smaller tomb is said to have been erected by the architect himself during his life time. If these dates are taken as approximately nearer to the event, these three tombs could be attributed to a period between 8th and 9th century Hijra.

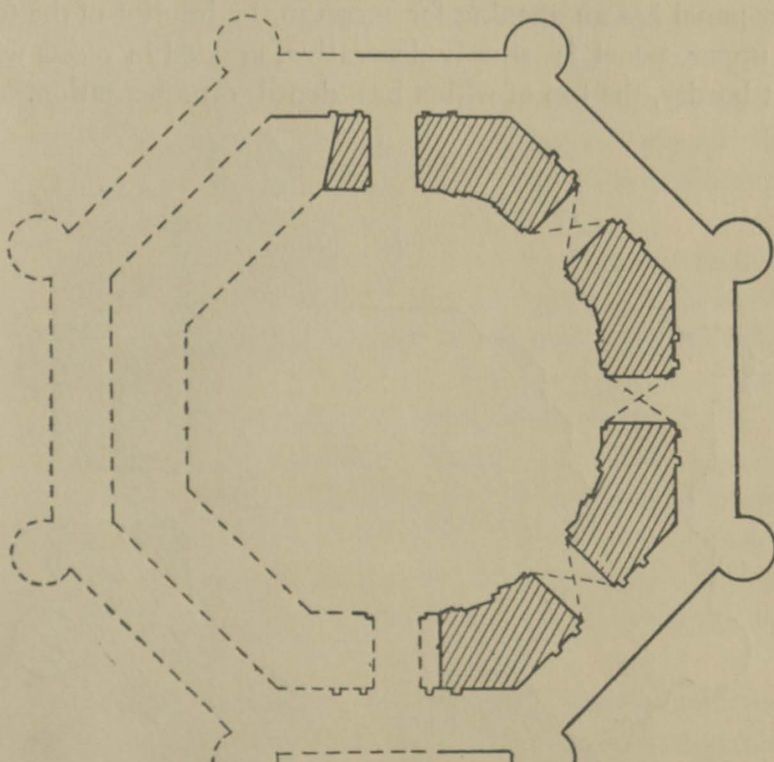


Fig. 6. Tomb of Bahā' al-Ḥalīm: First floor plan.

The Mausoleum of Bībī Jawīndī

The mausoleum of Bībī Jawindī, the most ornate of the

series, is octagon on plan (Fig. 3) measuring 34 feet 9 inches sides with pronounced perpendicular walls, 27 feet 9 inches high and 12 feet 7½ inches thick, and supported by buttresses at the angles which taper sharply towards the top and crowned with pinnacles. The mausoleum entirely depends upon faience revetment for its ornamentation and almost every inch of its exterior is covered with it (Pl. I a). The lower storey is crowned with a parapet reveted with false crenellation of glazed tiles having the word الله in the upper boss. Each side of the octagon has a slightly projected rectagular frame which serves functional as well as ornamental purpose. The frame is composed of two oblong arched panels placed one upon the other. While the lower panel has an opening for access to the interior of the tomb, the upper penel is simply decorative, created in recess within a flat border, the top of which has dentil ornamentation. The

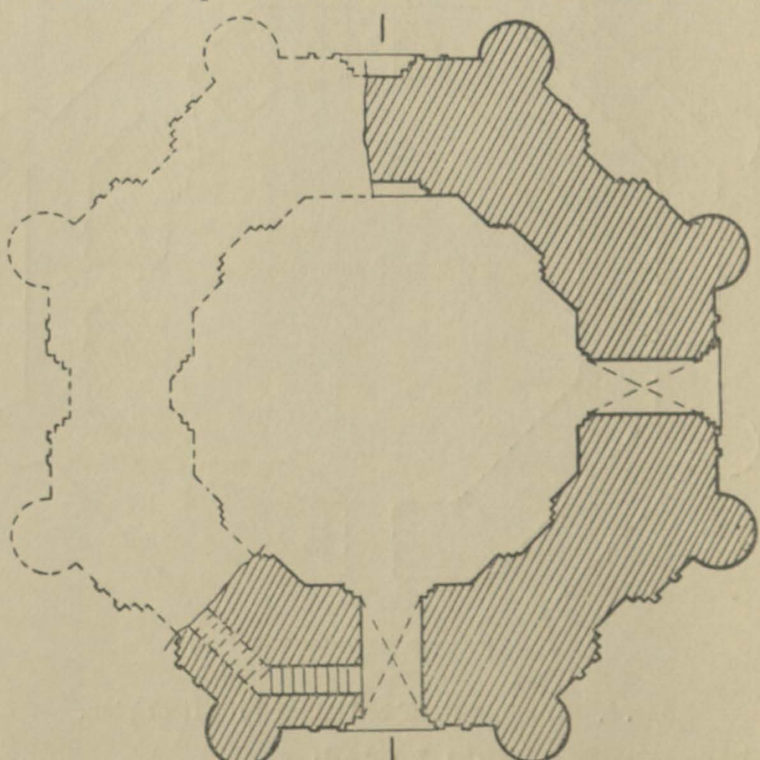


Fig. 7. Tomb of Bahā' al-Ḥalīm: The Plan

spandrel of the arches has been enriched with glazed tiles of various floral patterns. The parapet is augmented with a frieze moulding of glazed tiles. The turrets are crowned with a bunch of broad leaves blossomed outwardly, a feature noticed only at this tomb (Pl. Ia).

The first octagonal storey rises to a height of 27 feet and 9 inches which is placed on the second storey of smallar octagonal plan (Fig. 4), but comparatively smaller thus leaving a narrow circum ambulation all round the top of the first storey. In effect, the storey forms the shape of a tall octagonal drum on which is placed the dome. Like the first storey, it has been profusely faced with faience and faience mosaics; each octagon has slightly projected rectangular frame having a broad panel filled with tile mosaics of intricate designs. Here also the parapet is faced with a frieze moulding consisting of dentils. Like the lower storey, it has also been provided with pigeon holes. The collar of the dome has been decorated with a row of glazed tiles of floral design, while the rest of the shell is faced with white glazed tiles. The finial is missing now.

The interior of the tomb also presents a unique feast of surface ornamentation (Pl. I b). Here, the interplay of faience and faience mosaic, glazed plaster, cut-brick and wood is both fascinating as well as fabulous; only the adjoining tomb of Bahā'al-Dīn Uchchhī could offer such an exhaustive treatment (Pl. III a). Here, the spendrels are filled with faience or faience mosaics, a dentil frieze crowning it, while the rest of the surface is treated with glazed lime plaster. Above is a row of broad, rectangular arched-panels created in recess and placed exactly on the lower panels. The centres of the spendrels possess an eight-petalled lotus created in glazed tile

The octagonal storey is converted into sixteen sided, carrying the zone of transition. As usual, the conversion has been affected by means of squinches resting on wooden beams placed horizontally on bell-shaped bracket, also of wood. The base of the dome rests on a wood ring placed on a series of bell-shaped

brackets (Pl. I b; Fig. 4).

The Historic Mosques

Uchchh is renowned for its tomb architecture, but alongwith the tombs mosques were erected almost invariably as a necessary adjunct. It was presumed that the devoted visitor coming to the tomb to offer *fāteḥa* and to pay homage to the personage lying buried there, might like to pray in the nearby situated mosque. It is in this context that almost every important tomb at Uchchh has a mosque attached to it. However, like the tombs and mausolea, several of these historic mosques have been treated with extensive repairs, renovation or even re-construction. The mosques attached to the tombs of Jalāl al-Dīn Surkh, Jahāniyān Jahān Gasht, Ghaus Bandagi etc. are significant examples of the series. Like their main counter-parts, the first two mosques represent the flat-roof style while the third has a prayer chamber crowned with three domes. The Mosque of Jalāl al-Dīn Surkh is indeed a grand edifice having a spacious prayer chamber. It was, according to a Persian inscription fixed on either side of the meḥrāb, was repaired by Mulla Aḥmad under the orders of Shāikh Hāmid in 1027/1617 (Pl. VIII a-b). The mosque of Jahāniyān Jahān Gasht situated on the north of the tomb has likewise some notable interesting features (Pl. IX a-b). The north western part of the prayer chamber has a row of cells the door-openings of which have wood shutters and, above them, wood screens (Pl. X a-b; Figs. 8, 9). The centre of the western wall has been provided with the prayer chamber in the shape of a recessed arch faced with a decorative wood frame while the spandrels are filled with brick tiles which have been arranged in chevrons (Pl. IX-b). The spandrels possess glazed brick-tiles having full-blown lotuses with twelve well-marked petals and a boss in the centre. Flanking the Meḥrāb are two rectangular recesses covered with wood shutters and a frame, carved in delicate design. The arrangement of wood panels and brick-tiles in the Meḥrāb remind us similar treat-

ment meted out to the more elaborately built Meḥrāb of the mausoluem of Shaikh 'Alā' al-Dīn at Pākpatan. Though repaired and renovated thoroughly, the famous small mosque called Masjid-i-Ḥujjāj still exists alongwith the well where the celebrated Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar had prayed.

Faience and Faience Mosaic Revetment

Among the media of surface decoration for embellishing the monumental edifices at Uchchh, faience and faience mosaic has been the most favoured and has been used so extensively that without it no monument of the series could claim to represent the style. It may be recalled that the technique has been adapted in the main from the Multān style of architecture. Nevertheless, it has evolved its own decorative scheme and pattern. The variety shows proficiency and ingenuity of the local talent (Pls. II, a-b, III-b, V-b VI-b, etc.). The master-architect has used mainly three main types of glazed tiles: plain square or rectangular terra cotta tiles painted and glazed in various hues, mainly Persian blue and white; those having floral designs on rectangular terra-cotta tiles with foliage design in blue and white created in high relief; and, terra-cotta plugs with their broad ends cut in recess in various geometric patterns and painted white or blue. While the first type is normally used on exterior surface almost indiscriminately, the second category is confined to decorate the parapets of the edifices. The third variety is applied in groups so as to create diapers, triangles etc. (Pl. V-b). The best representation of second variety is noticed on the exterior of the tombs of Abū Ḥanīfa (Pl. II-a), Jahāniyān Jahāngasht, Ṣadr al-Dīn Rājan Qattāl (Pl. V-b), Ṣafī al-Dīn Gāzrūni etc.

The pattern devised and executed on square or rectangular tiles are the combination of geometric and floral designs, created with intersecting circles or polygons. The designs are painted on terra-cotta tiles and then fired to give an enamelled surface (Pls. I-a, IV-b). The finest of them all is in high relief created

on rectangular tiles used to decorate the parapet at the tomb of Abū Ḥanīfa. The pattern consists of a whisk hanging with an ornate tie-string (Pl. II-a). It is significant that nowhere else outside Uchchh the design seems to have been used.

Use of Wood

Wood has been used in the monuments of Uchchh both for the purpose of decoration as well as for their strength and elasticity. The former is mainly in the shape of screen panels for

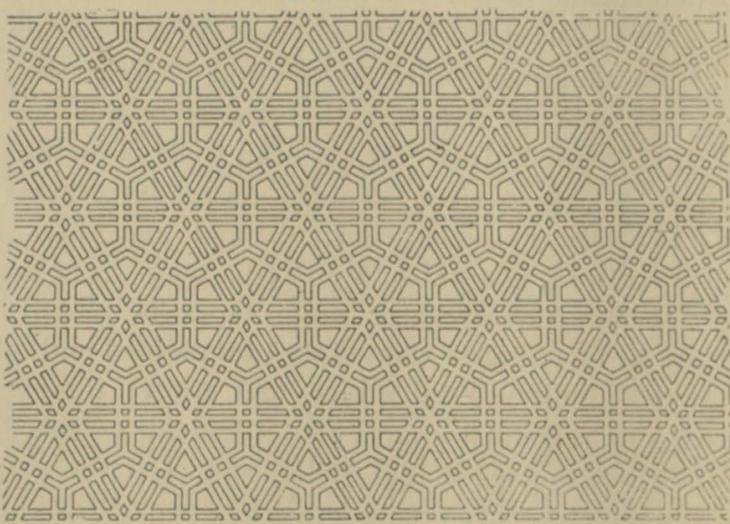


Fig. 8. Tomb of Rajān Qattāl : Carved Wood Screen

ventilation while the latter consists of horizontal beams or planks put in the core of the masonry to increase elasticity of brick work and for the purpose of roofing. It has been assumed that the use of wood in architectural monuments might have a foreign influence, mainly from Central Asia where the technique has been used in Muslim architecture since the very early days.

However, the extensive use has a local preference as well. The decorative use of wood predetermined endless possibilities for surface embellishment. The horizontal binders are inserted in the structures while the squinches are supported with wooden beams placed in the masonry at right angles (Pl. I-b).

The flat roofed tombs present yet another variety of the use of wood where it has a major role to play (Pl. IV-a). The square or rectangular structures have been roofed with wood framing having a series of square or round pillars arranged in two or three or even four rows on which are placed rafters and pertins, and the tie beams rest on posts and brackets. The wood structure so fabricated is elaborately painted or lacquered with floral patterns in red, yellow and white (Pl. III-b). Likewise, the posts and brackets have been carved in floral design (Fig. 10).

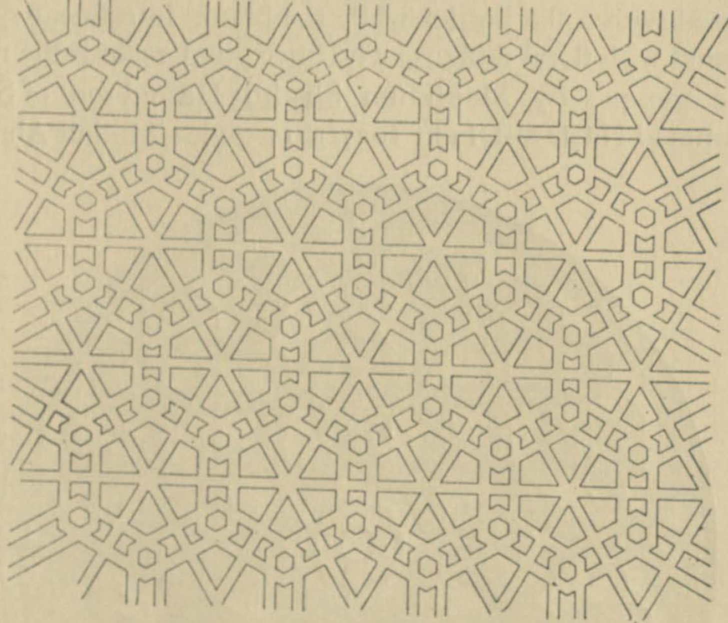


Fig. 9. Tomb of Rājan Qattāl, Carved Wood Screen

The Inscriptions

It is indeed very unusual that the historic monuments at Uchchh have no inscriptions, neither historic nor Quranic. The stray specimens are of later date, mainly recording repairs or renovation of the edifices. No inscription is available on the tombs of Bahā' al-Halīm, Bībī Jawindi, and that of Mūsa Pāk Shahīd. However, a carved marble stone measuring 2 feet

9 inches and 1 foot 4 inches, broken from the side has been fixed latter on the southern facade (Pl. XI-b). The text is mainly Quranic and has been carved in ornate Naskh characters within compartments of various sizes and shapes. The Persian text of the inscription reveals that it was originally fixed with certain mosque. It commemorates its construction in 980/1572.

The other inscription carved on two slabs of yellow Jandoti stone is fixed on either side of the Meḥrāb of the mosque attached to the tomb of Jalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī at the dado level (Pl. VIII a-b). The two stone slabs are of equal size measuring 23½ inches by 14½ inches and have two lines of Persain text separated with a flat border while the blank interlinear space is decorated with floral designs. The inscription records the repairs of the mosque by Makhdūm Shaikh Hāmid son of Shaikh Muḥammad Nāṣīr al-Dīn in 1027/1617 under Mullah Aḥmad.

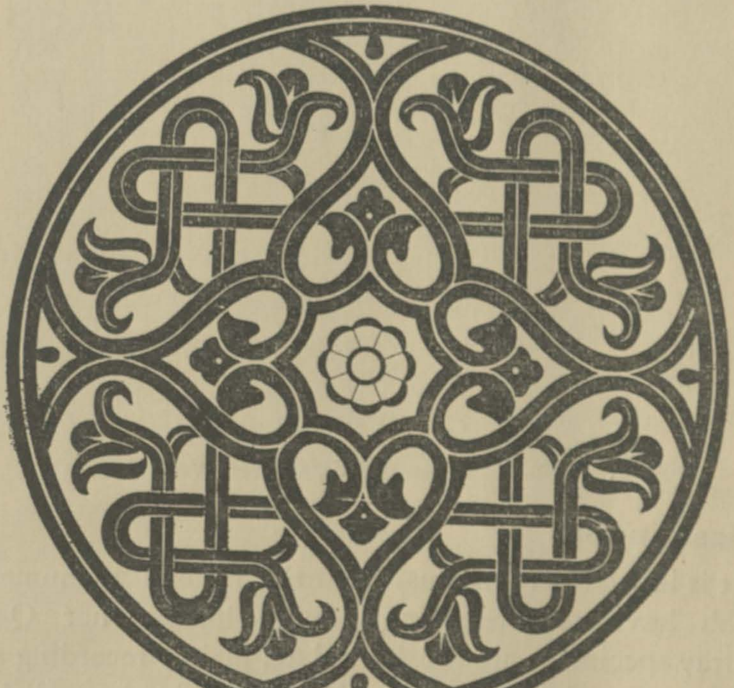


Fig. 10. Medallion carved on wood pillar

The other inscriptions, mostly on glazed tiles, belong to the present century and, likewise, record repairs and renovation to the tombs carried out under the patronage of the Nawwābs of Bahāwalpur or the Sajjāda Nashīns of the saints. An elaborate inscription of this category is fixed on the facade of the tomb of Jahāniyān Jahāngasht. The inscription is in fine nasta'līq characteres in ten lines on six glazed tablets with interlinear space filled with decorative designs. It records the major repairs executed to the monument in 1330/1912 during the days of Ḥāmid Muḥammad Naubahār (Pl. VI b).

CHAPTER SEVEN

Epilogue

The foregoing pages provide glimpses of the participation the ancient Uchchh Sharīf took in religious, social and political activities and the role it played in evolving a distinct pattern of society in the sub-continent. For some time, it served as a provincial metropolis of the well-known Rā'i dynasty, and then the capital of a short-lived political prowess under Nāṣir al-Dīn Qubācha while during the medieval period it strived hard to guard the frontiers against the Mongol onslaughts. However, while its military as well as political power eclipsed soon, it remained a favourite place of religious excellence and piety throughout the period of its existence. We have seen it rising as a coveted abode of Ushas[1], the goddess of Dawn, when her devotees eulogized her by singing beautiful hymns. It has been plausibly argued that the city was named after this deity which

1. Ushas, the celestial goddess is personified by a beautiful physical phenomenon, and takes the form of a maiden, gaily attired like a dancer with a garment of light. She rises in the east and exhibits her bosom to her devotees. She is ever youthful being born again and again, and yet is ancient. Her association with the Sun is naturally very close. He is her lover, but as she precedes him, she is also his mother, and the sister of the night. She is the subject of twenty hymns and is mentioned not less than 300 times in the whole of Samhita. In fact, the Dawn-hymns are among the most poetic of the Rig Veda. *Cf.* A.B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upnishads* (Oxford 1925) 119 ff.; R.C. Majumdar, (ed.) *The Vedic Age* (London 1952) 368 ff.

was, through the passage of time, changed to the present day Uchchh. Some of the literary references reveal that the ancient city served as a significant centre of Sun worship along with the neighbouring Multān. The city once possessed several Sun temples situated in various localities. The tradition must have continued for quite some time at least until the time the influence of the Muslim culture and religion penetrated in the area.

With the advent of Islam the pattern of society underwent a phenomenal change. Although we have little evidence of the earliest mosques and mausolea erected in the city and the details of religio-social activities of the early centuries of Islam, it is evident that the influx of spiritual personages continued in the areas ever since the Arab conquest of Sind and the Punjāb took place. The activities resulted into the creation of various institutions of formal and informal education. While the Khānqāhs were devoted to mystic training, the Madrasas imparted formal education. It has been said elsewhere that Uchchh combined both and possessed several important Khānqāhs and madrasas. It was divided into three socio-administrative sectors: Uchchh Gīlānī, Uchchh Bukhārī and Uchchh Moghla. The first two sectors were located around the Khānqāhs of Bukhārī and Gīlānī saints while Uchchh Moghla contained the administrative headquurters. Uchchh Gīlanī was founded by Sayyid Safī al-Dīn Gāzrūnī, while Uchchh Bukhārī arose round of the Khānqāh of Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Surkh Bukhārī.

Among the centres of formal education, the most important was the Madrasa-e-Fīrūziya. The date of the founding of this renowned institution is not known though it might be attributed, for the name sake, to the Sumra overlords. The importance of the madrasas, both their buildings as well as their service to knowledge, is to be appreciated in the context of the Central Asian traditions. It was an accepted responsibility as well as the prerogative of the rulers to provide this basic need to their

people. Sometimes, the wealthy elite also established such institutions. As a result, we see numerous such buildings having erected in almost all the important cities of the Muslim world. These buildings were imposing and enormous, themselves specimens of Islamic architecture, and the service they rendered to humanity at large was more than significant as they produced eminent personalities in all the fields of knowledge. At Uchchh Sharīf, the Madrasa-e-Fīrūziya achieved fame and importance during the short rule of Nāsir al-Dīn Qubācha who appointed Qāzi Minhāj-i-Sirāj Jūzjānī its principal. Jūzjānī was a renowned scholar of his times. He reached Uchchh in Jamādī al-Awwal 634/December 1236.

The other eminent personalities of the period who were associated with the court of Qubācha and who made Uchchh a great centre of learning, were Quṭb al-Din Kāshānī, 'Alı b. Ḥāmid b. Abū Bakr Kūfı, Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Aufī and Shaikh Maḥmūd Fārūqī. Among these, 'Alī b. Ḥāmid was a native of Uchchh itself having been born and educated here. At the age of fifty five years, he joined the court of Qubācha and completed his translation of *al-Hind wa'l Sind wa-Minhāj al-Mamālik.* He dedicated the book to Qubācha's Prime Minister, 'Ain al-Mulk Ḥasan b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Ash'arī. It is, however, curious to see that he seldom talks of his birth place in his writings. Similarly, 'Aufī who lived at Uchchh for about twenty-five years, and compiled his *Lubāb al-Albāb* to dedicate it to the same 'Ain al-Mulk, cares little to mention the place.

The other personages of the period were Shaikh Jamāl al-Din, Razī al-Dīn Ganj-i-'Ilm (d. 770/1368), Qāzi Abū Ḥanīfa. Jamāl al-Dīn Khandānrū and his talented son, Razī al-Din Ganj-i-'Ilm. Khandānrū spent his life in teaching at the Khānqāh-i-Jamāliya. Many celebrities of the city studied at this institution. Shaikh Razī al-Dīn and Qāzi Bahā 'al-Dīn were the teachers of the celebrated Jahāniyān Jahāngasht. The disciple speaks very high of his preceptors. He also erected a

splendid memorial over the grave of Qāzī Bahā' al-Din, better known as Bahā' al-Ḥalīm.

The saintly personages living in the city imparted mystic training and guidance to thousands who approached them for the purpose. The Suhrawardiya *silsila* driving inspiration from Multān, was initiated by the famous Sayyid Jalāl Surkh Bukhārī. The saint was a disciple of Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariya. It has been recorded that the Shaikh al-Kabīr bestowed khilāfat on Sayyid Jalāl Surkh and ordered him to settle at Uchchh to establish a Suhrawardi Khānqāh. Gradually, it rose to prominence and produced a galaxy of eminent spiritual personages. Sayyid Aḥmad Kabīr, son of Sayyid Jalāl Surkh and more so his grandson, Makhdūm Jahāniyān Jahāngasht (1308-1383) gave a name and fame to the Khānqāh. Jahāniyān Jahāngasht was the disciple of Shaikh Rukn al-Dīn Rukn-i--'Ālam. He followed the footsteps of his preceptor in propagating the Suhrawardiya principles of mysticism and created influence among the rulers and the ruled. Indeed, under his guidance the Suhrawardia *silsila* at Uchchh reached its climax. As an eminent religious personality of his time, he enjoyed profound respect and influence among the masses. Muḥammad Tughluq appointed him to the important post of Shaikh al-Islam, but he declined the offer and left for Ḥaj. He travelled far and wide and thus became known as Jahāniyān Jahāngasht. The great savant of Islam provided spiritual guidance to the people and converted a large number of them to Islam.

Similarly, Sayyid Muḥammad Ghaus Gilānī Ḥallābī established a Khānqāh at Uchchh representing the Qādirya *silsila*. The *silsila* gained popularity under him and his successors and created several mystic personalities under its fold. The khānqāh is still a flourishing centre of devotion for its inmates.

However, Uchchh Sharīf remained predominantly Suhrawardi oriented centre especially under the guidance of Jahāniyān Jahāngasht who adopted the same methodology to propagate and popularise the *silsila* at Uchchh as Shaikh Rukn-i-'Ālam

had done at Multān. These efforts made Multān and Uchchh the twin centres of Suhrawardiya *silsila*.

The affinity did not remain confined to mystic activities; it influenced other spheres of the society and evolved a way of life peculiar to the circumstances. The Khānqāhs were not only the centres of mystic practices but were also used for resolving other worldly affairs. The inmates brought all sorts of problems to be discussed and decided by their preceptors. The *Sajjāda nashīns* who were mainly sons, grandsons and relations of the main personality, thus achieved dominant position, having spiritual as well as material powers. It was natural because both at Multān and Uchchh hereditary system was adopted for succession to the *Khilāfat*. Occasionally. these *khalīfas* and *Sajjāda nashīns* picked up conflict with the governing class, but they had an upper hand and exercised almost unlimited influence on their followers.

The Khānqāhs were augmented with mosques and mausolea, the first a pre-requisite for the visitors, the second a necessary adjunct as the saintly personage had to be easily accessible even after his death. Prominent space was reserved in the Khānqāh for the purpose and splendid memorial was erected over his grave. Gradually, the tomb or mausoleum accommodated graves of other *khalīfas* as well. Here, too, the influence of Multān played its role and was responsible for the creation of several domed mausolea in imitation of the mausoleum of Rukn-i-'Ālam. The style so evolved may be termed as a 'subsidiary' school of architecture assimilating Multāni features, but at the same time expressing forcefully its own personality and individuality, especially in the type of flat-roofed structures where local traits and traditions dominated. It is here that the contribution of Uchchh to the art of building is significant.

To-day, the dust laden Uchchh Sharīf is a small town of little consequence. Its three socio-administrative sectors have reduced to small localities. Indeed, they have little spectacular

to interest a lay visitor; its narrow streets and small houses are mostly unsightly. Even its mosques and mausolea have lost their splendid colour. In fact, the most important ones have sacrificed their halves and much of their original revetment to the ravages of time and tide. Nonetheless, the city is still revered by the devotees of those who are lying buried there. They flock to their tombs and their Khānqāhs ceaselessly to offer *fateḥa* and to seek solace from worldly woes. It seems that the practice will continue for ever.

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INDEX

A

'Abd al-Ḥaq, 33, 36 fn, 39 fn
'Abd al-Wahāb, 63
'Abdallah, 26
'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī Sānī, 53, 54
'Abd al-Qādir Khāmis, 44
'Abidī, Vazier al-Ḥasan, ix
Abū Bakr-i-Ayāz, 22
Abū Ḥanīfa, 54, 55, 56, 69, 70, 76
Ab'ul Fazl, 3o fn
Achaemenian, 2, 3
Ādam Wāhan, 46, 60
'Afīf, 28 fn
Afghānistān, 5
Agathoclia, 5
Aḥmad Khān Nūrzai, 50
Aḥmad, Muḥammad 'Azīz, ix
Aḥmadpur East, 49, 50
Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, 46
Aiba, 28
Aibak, Malik Saif al-Dīn, 20, 21
Aibak-i-Uchchh, *see* Saif al-Dīn Aibak
'Ain al-Mulk Multānī, 19, 28, 28 fn
Aitamur, Malik Nāṣir al-Dīn, 16
Aitum, Nāṣir al-Dīn, 18
Al-'Arūs, 12
Alasanda, 5
'Alā' al-Dīn, Khaljī, 26
'Alā' al-Dīn, Shaikh, 63, 69
'Alā' al-Mulk, 30
Alexander, 3, 4
Alexandria, 3, 5
'Alī Akbar, Sulṭān, 63
'Alī Karmākh, 16
'Alī Muḥammad Khān, 46
Allahābād, 44
Allchin, B. and A., 1 fn
Alor, Aror, 7, 10 fn, 11, 12
Amīn Khān, 17
Amīr-i-Ākhur, 20
Amīr Khusrau, 25 fn, 27 fn
Andkhud, 16, 18 fn
Arachosia, 4
Arghūns, 37, 38
Aria, 4
Arkalī Khān, 26, 27
Arrian, 3
Aryan, 1, 2
'Arz al-Mamālik, 28
Ash'arī, 'Ain al-Mulk Ḥasan, 76
Askaland-Usha, 4
Askalanda, 7, 10, 11, 12
Asoka, 5
Ayand, 4
A'zam, Shaikh Muḥammad, 40, 47 fn, 48 fn
Āzarbā'ījān, 60
'Azīz Aḥmad, Muḥammad, 25 fn
'Azīzallah, 35

B

Bābiya, 10
Bābur, Zahīr al-Din, 39
Badā'ūnī, 16 fn, 24 fn, 25 fn, 27, 28 fn
Baghdād, 60
Bahā' al-Dīn Gurshāsh, 27
Bahā' al-Dīn Shaikh, 37

Bahā' al-Ḥalīm, 51, 54, 59, 63, 64, 71, 77
Bahādur Khān, 42, 45, 46
Bahār script, 52
Bahāwal Khān, 11, 47, 49
Bahāwalpur, 1 fn, 46, 48, 51, 60
Bahrām Aiba, 27
Bait Deblī, 43
Bājī Rā'i, 15
Bālajaya, 6
Balāzurī, 13 fn
Balban Ghiyās al-Dīn, 24, 25
Balban-i- Kashlū Khān, 22, 23
Balkh, 25
Balūch N. A., x
Balūchistān, 4, 5, 34
Bāmiyān, 25
Bāqir, Dr. Muḥammad, ix
Baran, 20
Baranī, 24 fn, 25 fn, 26 fn, 27
Bārbak Khān, *see* Zafar Khan
Basham, A.L., 2 fn
Behzād, Fkhr al-Dīn, 28
Berūnī, 10 fn
Bhāgnagar, 40
Bhakkar, 18, 19, 27
Bhandāri, 34 fn
Bhātiya, 10, 15
Biās, 10 fn
Bībī Jawindī, 51, 57, 59, 63, 64, 65, 71
Bilāl, 35
Bolān Pass, 6
Boyle, J. A. 17 fn
Brahmanābād, 7, 11, 12, 14, 15
Bubak, 'Imād al-Mulk, 35
Buddhism, 5, 6
Budan Khān Sindi, 33
Buhlūl, 31, 34
Buhlūl Shāh, 33
Bukhāra, 60
Bukhārī Makhdūms, 39
Bulanandi, 6

C

Chach, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
Chandan Khān, 42
Chandar, 8, 11
Channe Khān, 41
Chāshnīgar, 90
Chiniot, 33, 34
Chitor, 10
Choter, 44
Chouduri, 44, 45
Cunningham, A., 3 fn, 10 fn
Cunningham, J. D., 47 fd

D

Daharsiya, 11
Dāhir, 11, 12, 14
Dā'ira Dīn Panāh, 63
Dānī, Aḥmad Ḥasan, viii, ix
Daryavoush (Darius), 2
Dā'ūd Khān, 42
Da'ūdpotras, 40, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49
Daulat Khān, 36, 37
Daulat Rām, 40, 42, fn
Davids, Rhys, 5 fn
Daybul see Debul
Debul, 7, 11, 12
Deccan, 35
Dehli, 17, 18, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 33, 34, 36
Depālpur, 24, 29, 30
Dera Ghāzi Khān, 43, 45, 63
Derajāt, 44
Dera Ismā'īl Khān, 63
Derawar Fort, 44
Dhankot, 33, 34
Dhanod, 10

Dīnkot, 33 fn
Didorus, 4 fn
Dipālpur, xi, 27, 63
Dewā'ij, Rāja, 7

E

Egypt, 40
Elephant gate, 51
Elliot, 16 fn
Eltutmish, Shams al-Dīn, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23
Eudemas, 4
Eukratides, 5

F

Fārūqī, Shaikh Muhammad, 75
Fathallah, 35
Firishta, 25 fn, 27, 28 fn, 31 fn, 32 fn, 33 fn, 34 fn, 35 fn, 36 fn, 38 fn, 39 fn
Firūz Khān, 35
Firūz Shāh Khalji, 26
Firūz Shāh, Rukn al-Dīn, 21, 22
Firūz Shāh Tughluq, 28, 29

G

Ganda Singh, 47
Gandhara, 2, 3, 5
Ganj-i-'Ilm, 53, 76
Ganj-i-Shakar, Farīd al-Dīn, 69
Garhi Ikhtiyār Khān, 50
Gedrosia, 4
Ghafūr, M. A., 12 fn
Ghāra, 37
Ghaus Bandagī, 68
Ghāzī Malik, 27
Ghaznīn, 16, 19, 29
Ghiyās al-Dīn, *see* Balban
Giyās al-Dīn Bahādur, 28
Ghotki, 50
Ghulām Haider Shāh, 63
Ghulām Shabbīr Shāh, 52
Ghulām Shāh, 47
Ghulāmān-i-Chehlgānī, 21
Ghur, 19
Ghurī, 16
Gīlāni Makhdūms, 39
Goth Channī, 50
Gujerāt, 34, 35

H

Habīb b. Muhallab, 14
Hāfiz al-Islām, 49
Haige, 15 fn
Hakam, 15
Halākū Khān, 26
Hāmid Ganj Bakhsh, 48
Hāmīd Ganj Bakhsh, Khāmis, 51
Hari Singh, 47
Harappa, xi,
Hasan Nizāmī, 18 fn
Herāt, 4, 24
Herodotus, 2
Hifz al-Rahmān, 50 fn, 51 fn
Himalayas, 5
Hindūkush, 5, 29
Hindustān, 22, 26
Hishām, 14
Husain Arghūn, 37
Husain Langāh, 33, 34, 35, 39
Huvishka, 7

I

Ibn Battūta, 27, 28 fn, 56
Ikhtiyār Khān, 49
Ilbārī Sultāns, 26
'Imād al-Mulk, 35
Indo-Parthians, 6
Indo-Scythians, 6
Indus, 3, 29

Indus Valley, 2
Indus Valley Civilization, 1
Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Qarāqash, *see* Khān-i-Actkīn
'Imād al-Mulk *see* Būbak
'Irāq, 13
'Iṣāmī, 27 fn, 25
Ismā'īlis, 16 fn

J

Ja'far Khān, 47
Jaisimha, 14
Jahān Khān, 47
Jahāngasht, 53, 55, 54, 59, 63, 64, 68, 69, 73, 76, 77
Jajher, 10
Jalāl al-Dīn Surkh Bukhārī, *see* Surkh Bukhārī
Jalālpur, 63
Jalāyar, 17 fn
Jām Bāyazīd, 35, 36, 37
Jamāl Durvesh, 52
Jamāl al-Dīn Qandhārī, 53
Jamāl al-Dīn Uchchhī, 52, 76
Jeselmar, 44
Jhanda Singh, 47
Jhangī Khān, 42
Jhora, 45 fn
Jūna Khān *see* Muḥammad Tughluq
Junaid b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 14
Junedī, Nizām al-Mulk, 18
Jūzjānī 17 fn, 20, 20 fn, 21 fn, 22, 23 fn, 24, 76

K

Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz, 21
Kabīr Khān-i-Mangīrnī, 22
Kābul, 4, 29, 50
Kachchi, 44
Kafand, 4
Kai Khusrau, 25
Kaksa, 12, 13
Kālabāgh, 33 fn
Kalhaura Khān, 42
Kamboja, 2, 5
Kanishka, 6
Karlugh, Saif al-Dīn Ḥasan, 21
Kalhaura, 40, 42 fn, 44
Karna, 28
Karor, 33
Kashlū Khān, 27, 28
Kashmīr, 5, 7
Kaura Mal, 46
Keith, A. B., 47, fn
Khairpur, 45 fn
Khān, Aḥmad Nabī, vi, 5 fn, 44 fn
Khān, F. A., 12 fn
Khān-i-Actkīn, 22
Khān Khānān, 32
Khān Khānān, 'Abd al-Raḥīm, 41
Khizr Khān, 29, 30
Khurasān, 47, 59, 60, 64
Khusrau (the usurper) 27
Khusrau Malik, 16
Khwārazm, 17, 19
Kich, 40
Kishlū Khān *see* Bahrām Aiba
Kot Karor, 33
Kūfa, 11, 13
Kūfī, 7, 10 fn, 12 fn, 13 fn, 76
Kurdān, 7
Kurez, Malik, 23
Kushāna 6, 7
Kutch, 34

L

Lāhore, 16, 18, 24, 26, 33, 36
Lal, K. S., 27 fn.
Langāhs, 30, 33, 34, 37
Lankar Khān, 39

Larkāna, 44
Lodi, 33
Lohārī, 41

M

Madīna, 60
Madrasa-e-Firūziya, xi, 75, 76
Mahārat, 10
Mahdī Khān, 42
Maḥfūza, 15
Maḥmūd Ghaznīn, 15, 16
Maḥmūd Langāh, 36, 37
Maḥmūd Shāh, 32
Maḥmūd Shāh, Nāṣir al-Dīn, 22
Maḥmūd Shāh, Quṭb al-Dīn, 20
Maḥmūd Sharqī, 33
Majja Singh, 47
Majumdar, R. C., 2 fn, 74 fn
Makrān, 7, 12, 34, 40
Malik 'Abd al-Raḥīm, 30
Malik 'Alī, 29
Malik Balban, 23
Malik Chhajjū, 26
Malik 'Izz al-Dīn *see* Balban-i-Kishlū Khān
Malik 'Izz al-Dīn, Kabīr Khān, *see* Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz
Malik Kurez, *see* Kurez
Malik Nuṣrat al-Dīn, *see* Sher Khān Ṣungar
Malik al-Sharq, *see* Nāṣir al-Mulk
Malik Sulaimān, 32
Mālwa, 15, 35
Maqbūl, Qīwām al-Dīn, 28
Maqbūl Aḥmad, 12 fn
Marot, 40
M'arūfānī, 49
Masjid-i-Hujjāj, 63
Ma'ṣūm, 7 fn, 13 fn, 33, 37, 38 fn, 39 fn
Mas'ūd Shahāb, 16 fn, 50, 52 fn
Mathura, 7
Mc Crindle, 3
Mecca, 49, 60
Mehr, Ghulām Rasūl, 40 fn, 41 fn 43 fn
Menkobarnī, 17, 18
Menander, 5, 6
Mianwālī, 33 fn
Milinapanha, 5
Minhāj-i-Sirāj, 18
Mīr Ḥasan, 25 fn
Mīr Khund, 17 fn
Miskīn Tarkhān, 39
Moghulpura, 25
Mongol, 17, 18, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29
Moenjodaro, xi
Mubārak Khān, 43, 46, 47
Mughal, M. R., 1 fn
Muḥammad 'Aufī, 19 fn, 76
Muḥammad Dilshād, 59, 64
Muḥammad Dīn, 44 fn, 49 fn
Muḥammad b. Hārūn, 12, 60
Muḥammad b. Qāsim, 12, 13, 14, 60
Muḥammad b. Sām ,16
Muḥammad Ṣādiq Khān, 43
Muḥammad Shāh, 29
Muḥammad Sā'īd, 33 fn
Muḥammad Tughluq, 27, 28
Muḥammad Walīullah Khān, ix
Muḥammad Yūsuf, Shaikh, 31, 33
Mu'izz al-Dīn, Sulṭān, 24
Mulla Aḥmad, 68
Multān, 7, 10 fn, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26. 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39, 44, 45, 46, 50, 54, 56, 60, 61, 63, 70
Mundhanī, 49
Murād, Prince, 41
Mūsa Gīlānī, 63
Mūsa Pāk Shahīd, 54, 71
Muẓaffar Khān, 50

Muẓaffar Shāh, 34, 37
Muẓtar, A. D., x

N

Nadiem, x
Nādir Shāh, 44, 45
Naguar, 22, 23
Nahāwandī, 33, 34 fn, 36 fn, 37, fn, 38 fn, 39 fn
Nārnul, 20
Nārwār, 41
Nāṣir al-Din, Muḥammad, 72
Nāṣir al-Mulk, 29
Naved, x
Nāẓim, M., 15 fn
Ne'matullah, 33 fn
Nepāl, 5
Nerūn, 12
Nīrmūz, 7
Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, 17 fn, 21 fn, 24 fn, 25 fn, 31 fn, 33 fn, 34 fn, 36, fn, 38 fn, 39 fn
Niẓām al Mulk, 19
Nūr al-Ḥaq, 32 fn, 36 fn
Nūr Muḥammad Kalhaura, 43, 45
Nūr Muḥammad Ma'rūfānī, 49
Nuṣrat Khān, 27

P

Pākpatan, 47, 63, 69
Pākistān, 2, 53
Panjnad, 46
Panjṣadī, 41
Paropanisadae, 4
Peshāwar, xi
Pīr Muḥammad Jahāngir, 29, 30
Prince, E. R., 2 fn
Punjāb, 2, 3, 6, 7, 11, 13, 15, 33, 51
Pūrī, B. N., 6

Q

Qabūla, 63
Qandhār, 4, 24, 29
Qāne', 7 fn, 13 fn, 37, 47 fn
Qarāqash, *see* Khān Actkikn
Qarlugh, Saif al-Dīn Ḥasan, 23
Qarlughs, 22, 23
Qāzī Muḥammad, 33
Qīqānān, 7
Qiwām al-Dīn, *see* Maqbūl
Qubācha, Nāṣir al-Dīn, viii, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23,53, 74, 76
Quṭb al-Dīn, 32
Quṭb al-Din, Kāshānī, 76

R

Rā'i Dhorang, 40
Ragozen, Z. A., 2 fn
Rā'i Sahra, 31
Rāja Singh Rā'i, 12
Rājan Qattāl, Ṣadr al-Dīn, 54, 55, 69, 70
Rājpur, 50
Rājpura, 2
Rām, 7, 8
Rām Kalī, 50
Rapson, E., 2 fn
Rashīd al-Dīn, 4, 17 fn
Rashidī, Ḥusām al-Dīn, ix
Raverty, 10 fn, 15 fn, 19 fn, 20 fn, 24 fn
Rāvi, 37
Raychaudhery, H., 2 fn
Razī al-Dīn, *see* Ganj-i-'Ilm
Raziya, 21, 22
Rudolf, A. F., 6
Rohtak, 25
Rukn-i-'Ālam, 61, 62, 67

S

Ṣādiqābād, 45 fn
Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān, 44, 45
Saeed, x
Saeeda Aḥmad, x
Ṣafī al-Dīn Gāzrūnī, 53, 55, 69, 75
Shafqat, x
Sagāla (Siālkot), 5
Sahīras I, 11, 7
Sāhsī (Rā'ī), 7
Sāhsī II (Rā'ī), 7, 8
Saif a -Dīn, Aibak, *see* Aibak
Saif al-Dīn Ḥasan, *see* Karlugh
Sakas, 6
Samarqand, 60
Sanjar-i-Kazlak, Tāj al-Din, 18, 20
Sārang Khān, 29, 30
Sardār Jahān Khan, 46
Sarfarāz Kalhaura, 48, 49
Sartez, 'Imād al-Mulk, 28
Sayyid Aḥmad Kabīr, 77
Sayyid Ganj-'llm, 52
Sayyid Yaḥya, 63
Seorai (Sirwahi) 10 fn
Shāh Gardez, 60
Shāh Ḥusain, 37
Shāhnawāz Khān, Ḥayātallah, 44
Shāhid Shahīd, 61
Shaikh Ḥāmid, 68, 72
Shaikh Ṣādiq, 45
Shamṣ al-Din, *see* Eltutmish
Shams al-Din, Khwāja, 39
Shams Sabzwārī, 62
Shehamet 'Alī, 41 fn, 42, fn, 43 fn, 44 fn, 47 fn, 48, 49 fn
Sher-i-Farīd, 44, 45 fn
Sher Khān, 24
Sher Khān Sunqar, 23
Shiqdār, 28
Shikārpur, 44, 45
Shorekot, 33, 35, 36, 37
Shujā' Bukhārī, 37, 38, 39
Shujā' al-Mulk, 50
Sikandar Lodi, 36
Sikandar Shāh, 34
Silā'ij, 7, 8
Sind, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 15 fn, 24 51
Sirhindi, 21 fn, 24 fn, 27, 28, 28 fn, 30 fn, 31 fn
Sītpur, 34
Siwistān, 7, 12, 27, 41
Smith, V. A., 4 fn, 5 fn
Strato I, 6
Strato II, 6
Suhandi, 8, 10
Sui Vihara, 6
Sujān Rā'i, 33
Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik, 13, 14
Sulṭān Aḥmad, 40
Sulṭān Ḥusain Langāh, 32, 34, 36
Sulṭān Ḥusain, 11, 37, 38
Sulṭān Muḥammad, Qa'ān Malik, 24, 25
Sunām, 20
Sunga (dynasty), 5
Sungar, *see* Sher Khān Sunqar
Ṣurat Singh, 50
Surkh Bukhārī, 53, 54, 68, 75, 77
Swārah, 10
Sutlej, 46

T

Tabarhinda, 18
Tāhir Khān Nāhar, 63
Tehmāsp Khān, 45
Tamīm b. Zaid 'Utbī, 15
Tanwīnwāla, 45 fn
Tarn, W. W., 5 fn
Tāj al-Din Abū Bakr-i-Ayāz, *see* Abū Bakr-i-Ayāz

Tāj al-Dīn, *see* Sanjar-i-Kazlak
Tāshqand, 60
Tātār Khān, 28, 29
Tātār Khān, Bārbak Khān, 33
Talingāna, 28
Temar, 24
Thatta, 27
Thathavī, 'Aẓīm al-Dīn, 49 fn
Timūr, 29, 30
Tughluq, 27 ff
Turbel Tuqshīn, 17
Turkistān, 23

U

Ubura, 41
Uchchh (Sharīf), 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 10 fn, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35, 37, 39, 43, 46, 48, 50, 51, 53, 54, 56, 63, 65, 69, 70, 76, 77, 78
Uchchh Bukhārī, 51, 75
Uchchh Gīlānī, 50, 51, 75
Uchchh Mughla, 26, 51, 75
Ujjain, 15
Ulugh Khān, 26
'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, 14
'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim, 15
Ussa, 2, 3, 74
Ustād Lādla, 51, 54
Utbī, 15

V

Vāsūdeva, 7

W

Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, 13
Wheeler, R.E.M., 1 fn
Woodcock, C. A., 5 fn

Y

Yār Muḥmmad Khān Kalhaura, 43
Yazdī, 30 fn
Yazīd b. Abī Kabsha Sakasī, 14
Yeates, Rev. G., 6
Yūsuf Gardezī, 54

Z

Zakariya, Shaikh Bahā' al-Dīn, 31, 35, 61, 62, 77
Zamān Shāh, 50
Ziyā al-Dīn Sijzī, xi
Zimmer, Heinnrick, 5 fn



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